NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

VOLUME VII.---NO. 24. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1846. WHOLE NUMBER 336.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY. At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—One Dollar per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Selections.

From the Post.

DECISION OF JUDGE EDMONDS IN THE MATTER OF GEORGE KIRK, THE FUGITIVE SLAVE.

When the boy was before me on a former occasion no principle of law was involved, but mainly a question of fact, arising out of the return. On the present occasion, it is quite otherwise. The question now presented, is the constitutionality, and consequently the validity of a statute of our State.

It is not from any choice on my part, that I am called upon to consider this question. If my wishes had been consulted, the case would have remained with the Mayor, until he had decided it, and even then, I should have been much better pleased, if the review of his decision had been committed to some functionary whose other duties would have allowed him more leisure than I can command to examine it. But the party had a right to bring the matter at once before me; under our statute. I was bound to allow the writ of habeas corpus, even if I had been fully convinced of the legality of the imprisonment; and the return made to the writ, necessarily raising the question to which I have alluded, it becomes my duty to consider and decide it, a duty from which I am not at liberty to shrink, and which I hope I may be able to discharge, without partaking of the excitement which has surrounded the question from the beginning.

It is conceded on the record that George is a slave, owing service to a master in Georgia; that without the consent of the owner, or without the knowledge of the officers or owners of the vessel, he concealed himself on board the brig Mobile, in the port of Savannah, for the purpose of securing a passage to New-York; that his being on board was not discovered by the officers of the brig until they had been at sea two days on their return voyage, and had got without the territory of Georgia; that as soon as he was discovered, he was arrested and confined until his arrival in this port, and that on his arrival, the master of the vessel took him before the Mayor, to the end that he might obtain from the Mayor a certificate which should warrant him in returning the boy to the port of Savannah; that the owner of the slave does not demand him under the Constitution and laws of the United States, but he is demanded by the claimant, simply by virtue of his station as master of the vessel, and by virtue of a provision of our statutes.

Such are the facts of the case. The law applicable to it, is to be found in § 15, 1 Rev. Stat. 659. which enacts that whenever any person of colour, owing labour or service in any other part of the United States, shall secrete himself on board of a vessel lying in any port or harbour of such State, and shall be brought into this State in such vessel, the captain or commander thereof may seize such person of colour, and take him before the Mayor or Recorder of the city of New-York. The officer before whom such person shall be brought, shall inquire into the circumstances, and if it appear, upon proper testimony, that such person of colour owes service or labour in any other State, and that he did secrete himself on board of such vessel without the knowledge or consent of the captain or commander thereof, and that by so doing he subjected the captain to any penalty, such officer shall furnish a certificate thereof to such captain or commander, which shall be a sufficient warrant to him to carry such person of colour to the port or place from which he was so brought, as aforesaid.

It must constantly be borne in mind that the question before me does not grow out of, nor is it in any way connected with, an attempt on the part of the owner of the slave to enforce his rights under the Constitution of the United States and the law of Congress of 1793, but arises solely out of a State statute, which authorizes another person, in no respect connected with the owner of the slave, nor acting by his authority, to transport him from our territory to the place where he had been held in bondage, and where again he may be returned to bondage.

In other words, while the Constitution of the United States gives to the party to whom the service or the labour may be due, the right to reclaim his servant, and the law of Congress extends that right to the agent or attorney of such party, it is claimed that the State Legislature has a right to interpose and extend the right to a third person, not acting for or by the authority of the owner, but merely because he was the commander of the vessel on which the slave may have concealed himself, and because by such concealment, the commander may have become liable to a penalty.

Such is the authority which the Mayor has been called upon to exercise, and which it is insisted has not been, and cannot be, conferred upon him by the State Legislature.

Two objections are raised to this claim of authority.

1. That the provision of the Revised Statutes authorizing the proceeding has been virtually repealed by an act of our Legislature, passed in 1840.

2. That if it has not been repealed, it is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and therefore inoperative and void.

The conclusion to which I have arrived on this point renders an examination of the first unnecessary.

The section of the Revised Statutes under consideration is part of Title VII. of chap. 20 of the first part, which is entitled, "Of the importation into this State of persons held in Slavery, of their exportation, of their service, and prohibiting their sale;" and is a revision of the Act of 1817, entitled, "An act relative to slaves and servants."

The 30th section of the act of 1817, which contains the provision which has been incorporated into this 15th section of the Revised Statutes, is preceded by a recital that "whereas persons of colour owing service or labour in other States, sometimes secrete themselves on board of vessels while such vessels are lying in the ports or harbours of other States, and thereby subject the commanders thereof to heavy fines and penalties." And it is worthy of observation, that the act of 1817, as well as this title of the Revised Statutes, aims at prohibiting the exportation as well as the importation of slaves, and that while the act of 1817 abolishes Slavery after the 4th of July, 1827, the Revised Statutes declare that every person born in this State shall be free, and every person brought into this State as a slave, except as authorized by this title, shall be free.

It may well be questioned whether, as this slave was brought into this State in a manner not authorized by the Revised Statutes, he did not thereby, under our law, become *ipso facto* free, and whether this proceeding before the Mayor is not, therefore, in effect, a proceeding to carry a free citizen into bondage. But I do not consider that point, as it was not raised before me in the argument, was not discussed, and is not necessary to the decision of the question before me.

The broad question discussed, and which I am called upon to decide, is, whether our State Legislature have authority to pass this law.

The point has never, as far as I can learn, been decided, or even agitated in our State, and it is presented to me not only as a new one, but in the imposing form of requiring from me a decision that a law of our State is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and therefore void. Fully aware of the diffidence with which courts should always entertain such questions, I approach this with all the caution becoming the gravity of the case, yet with a lively sense of what is due to personal liberty and the fraternal relations existing among the members of the Union.

As I have already mentioned, the statute under consideration was first enacted in 1817, and was subsequently re-enacted and went into effect as part of the Revised Statutes, in 1830. In 1834, the Supreme Court of this State, in Jack *vs.* Martin, 12 Wend. 311, held that the law of Congress in regard to fugitive slaves, was supreme and paramount from necessity—that so far as the States are concerned, the power when thus exercised, is exhausted, and though the States might have desired a different legislation on the subject, they cannot amend, qualify, or in any manner alter it—that though the act of the State might not be in direct repugnance to the legislation of Congress, it does not follow that it is not in legal effect; that if they correspond in every respect, then the matter is idle and inoperative; if they differ, they must, in the nature of things, oppose each other so far as they do differ; that a fair interpretation of the terms in which the provision of the Constitution is expressed, prohibits the States from legislating upon the question involving the owner's right to this species of labour; and that while the law of Congress, thus passed, exists, the power of the States is suspended, and, for the time is as inoperative as if it had never existed.

The case of *Jack* vs. *Martin*, was carried to our Court for the correction of errors, and the judgment of the Supreme Court was affirmed. Though the reasons given for the decision in the Court of Last Resort, as reported, in 14 *Wendell* 507, differ from those given in the court below, the positions of the Supreme Court, as I have extracted them, were in no respect disturbed, but have ever since remained, and are now the law of the land governing the court and citizens of this State.

In 1842, the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Prigg* vs. *Pennsylvania*, 16 *Peters* 539, had the same question before them. It arose out of various statutes which that State as well as New-York and other Northern States, had, from time to time, been enacting on the subject of Slavery, and which contained among other things, provisions very like ours in regard to slaves who had absconded from other States.

Story, J. in delivering the opinion of the court, declares that the law of Congress may be truly said to cover the whole ground of the Constitution, not because it exhausts the remedies which may be applied, but because it points out fully all the modes of attaining the object which Congress have as yet deemed expedient or proper to meet the exigencies of the Constitution. And he adds:

If this be so, then it would seem upon just principles of construction that the legislation of Congress must supersede all State legislation upon the same subject, and, by necessary implication, prohibit it. For, if Congress have a constitutional power to regulate a particular subject, and they do actually regulate it in a given manner and in a certain form, it cannot be that the State Legislatures have a right to interfere, and, as it were by way of compliment to the legislation of Congress, to prescribe additional regulations, and what they may deem auxiliary provisions for the same purpose. In such a case, the legislation of Congress, in what it does prescribe, manifestly indicates that it does not intend that there shall be any farther legislation to act upon the subject matter. This doctrine was fully recognized by the Court in Houston vs. Moore, 5 Wheat. 1, where it was expressly held that where Congress have exercised a power over a particular subject given them by the Constitution, it is not competent for State legislation to add to the provisions of Congress upon that subject.

This is the supreme law of the land, which I am bound to obey, and is applicable to the case before me in this aspect, that while Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power over fugitives from service, has given the right to retake and reconvey them to the place of service, to the party to whom the service is due, his agent or attorney, the State legislation adds to the provision of Congress on that subject, by conferring the power of re-capture and re-conveyance upon the commander of a vessel on board of which the fugitive may have concealed himself.

If it may add, may it not diminish? And if State legislation once begins, where is it to end, and what bounds are to be set to it, but State discretion? Well, indeed, did our Supreme Court repudiate the idea that the framers of the Constitution intended to leave the regulation of this subject to the States, when the provision itself obviously sprung out of their fears of partial and unjust legislation by the States in respect to it.

While this construction of the Constitution—though recent in its promulgation, yet old as the instrument itself, was conceded on all hands during the argument before me, it was contended that our statute did not fall within its destroying influence because it was only a police regulation, and, therefore, legitimately within the scope of State authority.

In 16 Peters 625, Story J. qualifies the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, by saying that they were not to be understood in any manner to doubt or interfere with, the police power belonging to the States, in virtue of their general sovereignty. That police power extends over all subjects within the territorial limits of the States, and is distinguishable from the right and duty secured by the provision of the Constitution under consideration.

It becomes, therefore, material to inquire what is the police power here alluded to, and does our statute justly and properly fall within its scope?

In 16 Peters, the same learned Judge speaks of this power as conferring full jurisdiction on the States to arrest and restrain runaway slaves, and to remove them from their borders, and otherwise to secure themselves against their depredations and evil example, as they certainly may do in cases of idlers, vagabonds, and paupers. The rights of the owners of fugitive slaves are in no just sense interfered with or regulated by such a course; and in many cases, the operations of this police power, although designed essentially for other purposes, for the protection, safety, and peace of the State, may essentially promote and aid the interests of the owners. But such regulations can never be permitted to interfere with or obstruct the just rights of the owner to reclaim his slave, or with the remedies prescribed by Congress to aid and enforce the same.

In New-York *vs* Milne, 11 Peters, 139, Mr. Justice Barbour, in delivering the opinion of the Court, applies this test to determine the nature of the power:—Did it belong to the State before the adoption of the Constitution? has it been taken from the States and given to Congress? or does it fall within that immense mass of legislation which embraces everything *within the territory* of a State not surrendered to the General Government? And the power then under consideration was held to be of that "mass," because its place of operation was within the territory, and, therefore, within the jurisdiction of the State; because the person on whom it operates was found within the same territory and jurisdiction; because the persons for whose benefit it was passed were the people of the State; because the purpose to be attained was to secure the protection of that people, and because the means used were just, natural, and appropriate to those ends.

Complaint was made during the argument, that this police power was exceedingly vague, uncertain, and undefinable, and hence, I suppose, an inference was to be deduced that I ought to regard the claim of power with little favour at least. In the very nature of things it must be difficult, in few, or perhaps in many words, to define the power; for it comprehends an immense mass of legislation, inspection laws, quarantine laws, health laws, internal commerce, roads, ferries, &c. &c.

Yet, immense as is this mass, and various as are the interests embraced in and affected by it, it seems to me that the rules laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States, as I have already quoted them and the tests which they provide, are plain and simple, and easy to be understood, and in their application to this case entirely decided and satisfactory in the result to which they lead us.

To apply first, the rules given us in the case of Prigg, in 16 Peters:

The police power "extends over all subjects within the territorial limits of the State," yet our statute does not confine its operation within our limits, but provides, in case the fugitive is from another State, for the return of the fugitive back to the place whence he fled.

We "may remove slaves from our borders to secure ourselves against their depredations." To transport the slave to Canada or Connecticut would effect this purpose, yet that is not allowed by our statute. He must, in compliance with its command, be returned only to his place of bondage.

"The rights of the owners are not to be interfered with or regulated."

Yet what is a compulsory return of the slave, with or without his owner's consent, to the place whence he fled, but an interference with or regulation of the master's right to control his movements and govern his person?

The State regulation is "not to interfere with the remedy prescribed by Congress." Congress has limited the power of recaption to the owner, his agent or attorney, but our State law has removed that limitation. Congress has protected the rights of the owner, by securing the reclamation to him and those appointed by him, yet our statute gives to the commander of the vessel the power of transporting the slave beyond even the reach of the owner.

Such is the result of the rule furnished us by Judge Story. The application of Judge Barbour's tests will be found equally satisfactory and conclusive.

Is the power exercised in this statute one "embracing a matter within the territory of the State, not surrendered to the Government, and which can be most advantageously exercised by the State?" It cannot be most advantageously exercised by this State. It cannot, indeed, be exercised at all without the consent of the State from which the slave fled. Suppose that any slave State should forbid the return, to its territory, of a fugitive slave, could our law, commanding his return, be enforced? It could be enforced only by the national Government, and, therefore, the power has been surrendered by the States to the General Government. Such is the conclusion of our Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the United States. Not an element, then, of Judge Barbour's definition is left to apply to this statute.

But to proceed with his tests:

We are to look at the place of its operation to see that the statute operates within the territory of New-York; yet the main object of this statute plainly is, not the removal of the slave from our borders, but his return to the place whence he fled, involving, of necessity, the operation of our statute, without our territory and without our jurisdiction. Could it be more so if it provided that every vagrant arrested in our streets should be transported to and abandoned in the streets of Savannah?

We are next to look upon the person on whom it operates, to see that he is within the same territory and jurisdiction; yet this statute must, of necessity, operate both on the slave and the commander of the vessel more out of the State than in it.

We are next to look at the persons for whose benefit it was passed, to see that they are the people of our State. Yet this statute does not confine the power of recaption to the commanders of vessels, being citizens—it confers it on all commanders, reside where they may. And it is far from being limited to those for whose protection and welfare, in the language of Judge Barbour, our Legislature is bound in duty to provide.

We are next to turn our attention to the purpose to be attained to see that it is to secure that very protection and provide for that very welfare. The argument is that this statute had its origin in the desire to protect our citizens from the evil example of having slaves among us, yet that very statute prohibits the removal of slaves from our territory by highly penal enactments, and surely if the welfare of our citizens and their security from the evil example of Slavery were the object in view, it could be attained as well and far more easily by transporting the slave to a free State, which it prohibits, than to a slave State which it absolutely commands.

And lastly, we are to examine the means by which those ends are to be attained, so that they bear a just, natural, and appropriate relation to those ends. There is no special pleading, no refinement of reasoning that can disguise from a common understanding the fact that the whole object of the statute was, to allow the commander of the vessel to protect himself by retaking and returning the fugitive, and the means used, namely, the examination and adjudication by the Mayor, and his certificate, were natural and appropriate to that end, and to none other. If any other end had been in view—if the protection of our people at large had been aimed at—there would have been something compulsory in the law, something rendering it obligatory on the captain to afford us the desired protection. But everything is left to his discretion. If he pleases, he may retake, and, after retaking, if he pleases, he may return the slave to the place whence he fled. If the captain should chance not to be a citizen of this State, it would be difficult to discover how it could benefit this State, yet under no circumstances would it be difficult to see how it could benefit the owner to have his fugitive servant placed again within his reach. In every aspect in which I view this statute, I cannot help regarding it as intended and calculated to aid in returning a fugitive slave to his master; and it seems to me that the claimant in this case, and his counsel, have so understood the law, and have acted accordingly. Else why was the boy confined on board the vessel after her arrival here? Why does the captain plead his obligation to the laws of Georgia, when those laws compel him to return the boy to his owner? Or why, when George was making every effort, with the assistance of numerous friends, to escape from the State, did the captain invoke the aid of the police to arrest those efforts; and why does he now press this claim, but that he may do that which the Constitution and laws of the United States declares shall be done only by the party to whom the service is due, or his agent or attorney? I do not allude to these considerations for the purpose of even implying a censure upon the commander of the vessel or his owners, but solely with a view of drawing from his acts and those of his very respectable counsel, the consolation justly flowing, that he and they do, in effect and from necessity, understand our statute precisely as I do, namely, in the language of the United States Supreme Court, as by way of compliment to the legislation of Congress, prescribing additional regulations, and what they deem auxiliary provisions for the same purpose.

It must have occurred to all who have given this subject much consideration, as it has to me, to observe the extreme watchfulness with which this provision of our national Constitution has been regarded by our highest courts. It is not worth my while to pause and inquire into the cause or the propriety of this. It is enough to know that whenever any State legislation, attempting to intermeddle with the question, has come before our highest courts, it has, without ceremony, been swept from our statute book. Our statute regulating and controlling the master's right of reclamation, and allowing to the alleged slave the benefit of the writ of *homine replegiando*, fell before the decision of our Supreme Court in Jack's case. The laws of Pennsylvania, running through a period from 1789 to 1826, and containing a provision like that now under my review, were overturned by the Supreme Court of the United States in Prigg's case; and I only discharge my duty—obey, indeed, merely one of its plainest and most simple dictates—by declaring that the rule of law thus laid down by the highest judicial tribunals in the country, and whose decisions I am bound to respect and to enforce, is applicable to the statute in question, and being applicable, renders the statute null and void, and the arrest and detention of Kirk under it improper.

It will be observed that I have omitted to discuss many considerations which were pressed upon me during the argument. The view which I have taken of the case rendered their discussion unnecessary, but I will briefly allude to one topic, because, if the danger apprehended were to ensue, it would be the only cause of regret which I should experience growing out of this case. I allude to the penalty which it is averred may fall upon the Captain in case of his return to Georgia. I cannot persuade myself that there is any cause for the fear.

The slave was concealed on board his vessel without his knowledge or consent. He was not discovered until the limits of Georgia had been passed, and to have returned then to Savannah would not only have vitiated the Captain's insurance, but have rendered him liable in an action to the boy; and since his arrival in this port, he has resorted to every means which our law allows to return him to his place of servitude. And if he shall be finally defeated in his attempts, it will not be from any want of effort on his part, but from a determination on the part of the authorities of this State, to avoid State usurpation, and to maintain the Constitution as it has been interpreted by the highest tribunals in the country. It cannot be that under such circumstances, he can have anything to fear from the penal enactments of Georgia.

If, however, contrary to all just calculation, those fears should yet be realized, our regard for the individual may not warp the law from its uprightness, though it may well excite our regrets that its integrity cannot be maintained without the infliction of unmerited suffering. This boy must at all events be discharged; the law allows it, and the court demands it.

From the Savannah Republican.

In consequence of a press of matter, we were yesterday compelled to defer the publication of an article in the New-York papers, in regard to the fugitive slave, *George*, belonging to Mr. CHARLES CHAPMAN, of this county. We are pleased now to be enabled to give the following extract from a private letter, containing all the facts in regard to the affair:

NEW-YORK, Oct. 22, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—We arrived here after a pleasant passage of six days. On the second day out, a slave was discovered, wrapped up in one of the sails, by the second mate; he reported it immediately to the captain, who, in turn, reported it to me, and a council was immediately called to decide upon the best course to be adopted. We accordingly called the fellow aft, and propounded to him several questions. He said that his name was *George*, that he belonged to Mr. Charles Chapman, a planter, upon the Ogechee river, that he had been staying at Mr. Warner's stable and had run away, because his master had determined to take him upon the plantation, where he would have to live upon a peck of corn and hoe his task every day. Captain Buckley determined to ship him to Charleston or Savannah on board of any vessel bound to either port; but in consequence of head winds near New-York, he no doubt was prevented from doing so, and was obliged to bring him into this port. When we arrived—which was about twelve o'clock at night—the captain and myself came on shore, leaving the negro locked up in a state-room, and well secured, with directions to the boy to keep a sharp look out upon him. The boy went to sleep, I suppose, and the negro escaped from the room and secreted himself in the hold, and was not found until they began to discharge the cargo. The vessel being alongside the wharf at the time, the people on the wharf heard the cries of the boy, who, when seized by one of the crew, began to cry murder. The report of a fugitive slave being found on board of a vessel from Savannah, flew like wild-fire, and in a short time an immense crowd of darkies assembled on the wharf, but were forbidden to come on board by the captain, who immediately cast loose his fastenings and got into the stream. A writ, however, was served, and the fellow was delivered to the officer, and Captain Buckley was put into the custody of a constable. The case was carried before Judge Edmonds, and the trial was postponed until two o'clock this afternoon. I suppose they will bring Buckley in for false imprisonment and maltreatment. The owners of the vessel have demanded the fellow, and in case they cannot recover him, are willing to pay the value of the boy to his master.

Yours, &c.

THE SLAVE CASE.

There is much misapprehension in the public mind, in regard to the slave case which is now agitating the city, yet the case is so simple, that its real character may be set forth in a very few words.

The sportsman who wings a partridge upon his own grounds, may follow the wounded bird into his neighbour's field to get a second shot, and bag his game if he can. But the partridge which, of its own accord, runs from your neighbour's field to yours, not pursued by any sportsman who has "marked her down," is just as much your property as his, unless he presents himself in person, and proves some peculiar property in the bird. And if this last partridge happen to have secreted itself in a hay-cart, and thus passed from your neighbour's field into yours, the condition of ownership, (so far as one can be said to own a live partridge,) is precisely the same as if the bird flew through the air; the driver of the hay-cart is not in any way responsible to your neighbour, nor are you called upon in any way to deliver up the bird which that neighbour has not pursued and identified as his property. You are not called upon we say; but you may if you choose, from fear of your neighbour's displeasure, or from sheer love of hunting down partridges for your neighbour's spit, and winning the name of an indefatigable bird-catcher—you may seize this particular bird, or indeed any other in your own cover, and make a present of them to your neighbour's larder.

Now the Constitution of our Confederacy, which regards all these States as neighbours, secures to the breeder of human partridges a right to follow the game he has reared, and possess himself of it when it has escaped from his own plantation to a corner within our boundaries. But that Constitution makes it necessary for him to prove the identity of the bird, and his special ownership therein—and prove it, too, by one of his own game-keepers, before he can seize the bird and clap its neck under his own broad belt. He cannot take up one of our own free birds upon suspicion; much less can he convert our whole community into bushbeaters for his exclusive use in hunting down human partridges.

In a word, this Captain Buckley, who brought off this boy, Kirk, in his "hay-cart," is guilty of the most matchless effrontery, in stirring up this community to make good, with his Southern friends, his own act of carelessness; and the Mayor, with no stringent call of the Constitution upon him—no shadow of a call—to take a part in the hideous business, has disgraced the city of New-York, represented by its chief magistrate.

We are no Abolitionists, or, rather, we regard political abolition as actual treason against the Union. But we shall soon begin to think that the sovereign dignity of the State of New-York can only be preserved from outrage by treason against the Confederacy, if the plain and limited requirements of the General Constitution, in relation to the institution of Slavery, can be thus perverted to our disgrace.—*Evening Gazette.*

The following are the remarks also of the *Gazette* on the article which we copied last week from the *Tribune:*

THE SLAVE CASE.—The argument in this case was resumed yesterday by *James T. Brady* on the part of the Mayor, and by *John McKeon* on behalf of the slave. No decision was given by *Judge Edmonds*, who will be prepared, however, this morning, we hear, to bring this vexed question to a termination. From the *Tribune* of this morning, the following plain story is taken, and we cannot refrain from accompanying the statement with an emphatic expression of our own indignant and heartfelt scorn and contempt, for the disgraceful and inhuman course which has been pursued in relation to this poor black boy.

Are the free people of this city content to bear with patient submission, the charge that they are a collection of slave-hunters! Disgraceful, utterly disgraceful is this whole persecution, and we agree with the Tribune, that the parties who have made themselves so infamously prominent in this matter, should be branded for all future time. New-York should wash her hands of all participation in the sin of Slavery.

Well merited and true, is the annexed article from the Tribune. Messrs. White, McKeon, and Jay, are entitled to the thanks of every friend of justice and humanity for their noble efforts to rescue the slave boy, George Kirk, from the heartless gripe of those who are prostituting the forms of law to the unholy purpose of sending him back to interminable bondage. Mr. Jay has proved himself as sound in head as he is in heart, and the arguments of Messrs. White and McKeon were both impressive and eloquent.

We should like to see an alliance of Christians entirely without a doctrinal creed, expressly for the purpose of enforcing Christian morals, and acting together against the vices and evil principles most opposed to the Gospel;—an alliance in which there should not be a word said about orthodoxy or heresy, but in which the abolition of Slavery, the promotion of permanent and universal peace, the sacredness of human life, and the evils of death-punishment, the cause of temperance, and that of education, and the suppression of certain prevalent vices which are the bane of society, should form the subjects of discussion, and the objects of common interest. That we should call a Christian Alliance. We should call it so, even if some men chose to enter it, and met with no opposition, who deny altogether the divine authority of the Gospel; for there, we believe, the spirit of Christ would be; and by such means the grand ends of Christ's mission would, we are persuaded, be promoted.—*London Inquirer, Sept. 5th.*

From the Baltimore Saturday Visiter.

ANOTHER PETITION FOR FREEDOM.—JUSTICE AGAIN TRIUMPHANT!

A case of deep interest was tried in Baltimore County Court, some days ago. It involved the freedom of a coloured woman named Maria Wilson, her nine children, and several grand-children. The facts, as contended for by the parties, are, that between forty and fifty years ago, the administration of Sarah Worthington, who died in Baltimore county, about the year 1804, sold a slave woman, named Hannah, to Joshua Richards, now deceased, for the balance of her term of servitude, said to be eight years—that at the time of sale Hannah had an infant about eight months old, which infant (Maria, the present petitioner) was admitted by the administration, from motives of humanity, to pass into the possession of Joshua Richards, with an understanding that Richards was to have the services of Maria for a reasonable time, to compensate himself for the trouble and inconvenience of supporting Maria as an infant through the stages of childhood, until she should be of use—that Maria remained with Mr. Richards upwards of twenty years, was married, with his approbation, to a coloured man named Henry Wilson, had children, and some twelve or fifteen years since, with the approbation and consent of Mr. Richards, left him, and has since lived with her husband, by whom she had the large family spoken of, and which now form the subject of the present controversy. The defendants, on the other hand, contend that Hannah and her child, Maria, were sold to Mr. Richards, as slaves, for a term of years, and that all the children of Maria are slaves for life; that as such they were claimed by Mr. Richards in his lifetime, bequeathed by him in his will, and as such claimed by the heirs of Joshua Richards, who, since his death, arrested, and put them into the jail of Hope H. Slatter, who purchased John, one of the petitioners, and upon whose case this issue was made. A great deal of interesting testimony was given on both sides, and arguments made before the court, upon several propositions of law. At length, the case was argued before the jury, who retired at four o'clock, on Monday afternoon, and after being locked up for twenty-four hours, returned with a verdict of freedom for the petitioners. On the announcement of the verdict, the defendants' counsel filed a motion for a new trial, which we suppose will be argued at an early day. W. P. Preston and T. S. Alexander, Esqrs. for petitioner; John Nelson and John Glenn, Esqrs. for respondents.

We naturally feel like rejoicing over the triumph of justice and mercy; but perhaps it will be best to wait until we have the result of the motion for a new trial.

From the Liberator.

LETTER FROM JAMES N BUFFUM—INTERVIEW WITH THOMAS CLARKSON.

FRIEND QUINCY: The news of the death of Thomas Clarkson has awakened in my mind feelings of no ordinary nature. It is but a few months since I visited him at his residence, Playford Hall, near Ipswich, stood in his presence, and listened to his words of wisdom, which seemed to come to me clothed in more than human authority. So long ago as when I was a child my mind was deeply impressed with a description of a slave-ship by Clarkson, representing the cruel manner in which slaves were confined in their transportation into bondage. I had learned to regard him as one whom God in his goodness has sent for the especial purpose of breaking the fetters of the slave, and for that purpose had clothed him with more than ordinary power. It seemed to me that I was in the presence of one of the prophets of our day, and one not inferior to any who have gone before him. I had sent my letters of introduction the day before, with a note informing him of my intention of visiting his residence the following day, hoping that, his health permitting, I might have the great satisfaction of taking him by the hand, and expressing to him my gratitude for his great and successful labours in the cause of universal freedom. I did not expect to find him in health sufficient to hold a lengthened conversation; but I was most agreeably disappointed. I was met at the door by the servant, who told me that Mr. Clarkson had been expecting me all the morning, and was ready to see me. I was soon shown to his chamber, where I was received with a most cordial welcome. He said he was much pleased that I had come so far to see him—that he was always glad to meet any American Abolitionist, as he regarded them as occupying the most trying position in the great struggle of humanity. He said I must take a chair by his side, as he had many questions to ask me. He had prepared a list of those which he wished me to answer. They chiefly related to the government of our country, and our slaveholding Union. He said, that if ever he found time and strength to write on any subject, it would be on the dissolution question.

I was surprised to find him so familiar with the prominent questions which interest the friends of progress and freedom at this time, and especially the question of the Free Church of Scotland, and its alliance with the slaveholders of America. He felt grieved that any one should be so blinded by interest as to form such a compact with men guilty of such gross violations of the plainest precept of Christianity; and he trusted Dr. Chalmers would never go down to the grave with such a stain resting upon his reputation as he had brought upon it, by his attempt to vindicate the Christian character of slaveholders.

He had much to say of George Thompson, as among the most sincere, eloquent, and devoted friends of human freedom. I was much gratified to find that his affection, too, for our beloved Garrison was in nowise abated. He said that there was no man that he had a higher regard for than him. He said, "He has been misrepresented and slandered; he has been called an infidel; but that is the fate of all who carry out practically the doctrines of the Saviour; he has been called odd—but that is because he is a man of genius, and does not follow the multitude." I told him Mr. Garrison was expected to visit England soon, which delighted him much. He said he hoped he might meet him once more.

He was somewhat disappointed that Frederick Douglass was not with me. He said that he regarded him as a remarkable man, and hoped he would visit him soon. He spoke with great affection and interest of Mrs. Chapman and her labours, and the great satisfaction he had in corresponding with one so devoted to the great cause in which he had spent his life. He referred with interest to Judge Jay, and the pleasure he enjoyed from a visit he paid him some time since, while he was in that country. John G. Whittier was remembered with kindness, as among his friends in this country, in whose welfare he was interested.

It gave me great pleasure to be with him for the space of two hours, and to hear from a man who had devoted a long life to a cause in which I was interested. He expressed his great satisfaction that it had been his privilege to labour and toil for the redemption of his fellow-man. "I am," said he, "now eighty-six years of age. Sixty-one years of my life have I devoted to the cause of emancipation, and I can assure you that had I my life to live over again, it should be spent in the same way. I have worn myself out. I can be here but a short time; but it affords me great satisfaction now, in the evening of my days, to know that I have done something for the poor slave."

His wife was present. She is a woman having the appearance of being somewhat younger than himself. She has a fine, benevolent expression, very agreeable in conversation, and seemed to sympathize with him in all things. As I rose to take my leave of him, he grasped my hand in both of his, and invoked the blessing of God upon me and the cause in which I was engaged. I shall never forget the last words of that venerable man. "May God bless you, and make you strong in the holy cause in which you and your American friends are engaged; and may you live to see the time when not a tyrant shall inhabit your broad-spread country, or a slave tremble at his word."

Such is but a faint outline of a short, but to me, deeply interesting visit to Thomas Clarkson. I thought, at the time, that this visit was enough to compensate me for my journey across the Atlantic. Others may boast of their visits to the Queen, and their kind reception with English nobility; but I regard my visit to Clarkson higher than any attention, however marked, from that tinselled royalty which glitters only in a corrupt and perverted public sentiment, and as worth nothing compared with that nobility which is the nobility of a great and generous soul, labouring not for its own aggrandizement, but spending its best energies for the redemption of others.

Clarkson has gone to his rest, and it now remains to be seen whether the English people will do themselves the honour of erecting some suitable monument that shall express to the world their appreciation of his labours, and their high admiration of the man. I am not much in favour of such mementos, except as they mark the advance of the race, and tell to all coming generations that a step has been made in the great cause of Christian progress. Let this be as it may, it needs no monument to preserve the memory of one so good. His memory is safe in the hearts of all who hate fraud, and despise oppression; and generations of ransomed men and women shall remember with gratitude the name of Clarkson, when Napoleons and Wellingtons shall have been forgotten, or remembered only as evidence of a dark and corrupt public sentiment that could pile marble to the memory of such enemies of the human family, and such violators of the Christian injunction, "to love our enemies." A thousand reflections come crowding upon me, but I must stop: my physician has just come in, and says that I must quit writing if I want to get well. My friends will, therefore, attribute seeming want of attention to ill health, and especially my trans-atlantic friends, who are all remembered with affection, but I cannot write them. I am, with much respect, your co-worker in the cause of the slave,

JAMES N. BUFFUM.

From the Charleston Evening News.

THE SLAVE CASE IN NEW YORK.

The magistrates of New-York have been again violating the compacts of the Constitution in the case of Kirk, a fugitive slave, who had secreted himself on board the brig Mobile. He was brought up by habeas corpus, on Wednesday morning, at the City Hall, and discharged on the flimsy pretext that the captain of the brig was not the authorized agent of the owner. The law of the State of New-York, however, provides that where a slave, in another State, conceals himself on board a vessel, and is brought there, the master shall cause him to be carried before the Mayor or Recorder, who shall give a certificate whereby the slave shall be delivered to the master, with a view to being restored to the owner.

The magistrates, however, tenacious of their dishonest purpose of violating the Constitution and robbing the owner, declared that the captain had not complied with the requisitions of the law, inasmuch as he had confined the fugitive in the hold of his vessel, whence he was brought out by the present writ. Had the captain left the slave at liberty, while he went to the Mayor to lodge his complaint, there can be no doubt that he would have been delivered up—if he could be found. But as the captain very wisely and honestly put it out of the power of the Abolitionists to steal the property of another, which had come accidentally into his possession, the New-York Judges determined to commit the larceny themselves. They have certainly been ingenious in devising excuses for their contempt of law, honour, and justice. But we would not give a farthing for a rogue who could not find an apology for his roguery.

From the Erie (Pa.) Gazette.

A FREEMAN IN BONDAGE.

The older portion of our townsmen will recollect a short, square-built, yellow man, named Frank, who was raised by the late Hon. Thomas Wilson, and for many years resided here, and was generally welcome to all our young people by his humour and unconquerable love of fun. Frank, it seems, has been inveigled down the river, seized, and sold as a slave, to a planter, we understand, in Mississippi. We have been informed that Frank's purchaser bought him with others on credit, and getting to learn that he was a freeman, says if the fact can be established, he can avoid paying the note he has given, and poor Frank may be relieved from labour in the cotton field.

It is to be hoped that Frank's situation will command the attention of the humane, who should make proper efforts to establish his identity, and have him restored to freedom.

From the Covenanter.

LIBERTY PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATES.

James G. Birney advises the Liberty party to select as their candidate for President, not only a properly qualified politician, but

"In addition to this," he adds, "he should believe in the God who made him, and in the Saviour that died for him; and he should constantly strive, by the rules that God has given him, to perfect his character, and make it better to-day than it was yesterday."

We like to give credit where we can, and hence, we publish and commend this advice. But *can*, or *will*, the party receive and act upon it, as a fixed principle, applicable to all candidates? We think not, so long as they make the abolition of Slavery the only prominent object of their exertions. In New Hampshire, this party now acts in concert with the Hale Democrats. Whenever they can they will form similar alliances. And yet, to do so, they must, of course, be prepared to receive a portion of their candidates from the ranks of their allies, whether they are religious men or not. Consequently, such letters as that of Mr. Birney cannot be taken as true exhibitions of the principles of this party in regard to their candidates. *Many*, no doubt, would desire to act on Mr. B.'s recommendations, but, as a *general thing, it is not to be expected*. There is not a word of such a principle in any document coming from their conventions. They speak, indeed, of "voting for good men," &c. but they do not commit themselves to the principle that none should be set up and voted for, but *Christian men*. Until they come to this point, they are far from the Bible ground.

While we make these remarks, we most also express our satisfaction in knowing that Mr. Birney—and, we presume, others of that party—occupy the position in-

dicated in the above extract. And yet our satisfaction is again cooled by the reflection, that Mr. B. and the whole party, are engaged in attempting to convince the people of the United States, that there has not been any constitutional guarantee given to Slavery in the United States! That a Constitution which, besides "*free* persons," makes provisions respecting "*other* persons," does not recognize Slavery! We can never rid ourselves of the suspicion, that their interpretation of the Constitution is all forced work. That they are trying to make themselves believe—but after all, with little success—what they wish to be true. We know that they would occupy a much stronger position were they to adopt the plain, and nearly universal interpretation of the Constitution, then refuse, consequently, to vote under it as a pro-slavery document, so doing, and, adopting the principles of Mr. Birney's letter, the sixty thousand Liberty voters—embracing, as they do, many wise and virtuous men—could not fail to exert a most powerful and salutary influence upon the now corrupted politics of the country. Continuing to occupy, what we believe to be a false position, we have little hopes that they will accomplish any real or permanent good. On the other hand, they must become in time, just about what the other parties are.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

To the Editor of the Manchester Examiner:

SIR:—I perceive by the papers, that a meeting on the Evangelical Alliance has been held in Manchester, and understand that several thousands of a bill, entitled, "American Man-stealing and the Alliance," were distributed at the meeting. I wish to call the attention of the people of Manchester to the speech of Rev. Dr. Cox, of New-York, on that occasion. He divides slaveholders into three classes: "*one* of which is guilty of atrocities;" the *second* class are "those who had slaves, but who would not sell them, nor indeed, *buy*, unless they saw them in distress, at fear of being sold into other hands;" the *third* class was "that of real *Christians*."—(*Manchester Courier, Sept. 19, 1846.*) A *Christian* slaveholder!—The Rev. Doctor aims to unite the endeared and venerable name of *Christian* with *slaveholder*. What is a slaveholder?

"All those who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into Slavery, or in *retaining* them in it; all who *keep, sell*, or *buy* slaves, are *man-stealers*—guilty of the highest kind of theft, and sinners of the first rank."—(*The Books of Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, adopted in* 1794.)

"Slaveholding is, *in every instance*, wrong, unrighteous, and oppressive; a very great and crying sin, there being *nothing* equal to it on the face of the earth."—(*Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D. of the United States*, 1776.)

"He that holds another man *as property*, subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is therefore, *more detestable* than the *robber* and *assassin* combined."—(*Thomas Day, Esq.* 1780, *in the Legislature of Kentucky, a slave State.*)

"To hold any man in Slavery, is to be every day guilty of *robbing* him of his liberty, or of *man stealing*. Fifty years from this time, 1791, it will be as shameful for a man to hold a slave, as to be guilty of common theft or robbery."—*Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D.*)

"Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, reputed, and judged in law to be *chattels personal*, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."—(*The Universal Law of American Slavery, and the particular enactment of South Carolina.*)

Thus, every American slave is a chattel personal—a *man*, created in the image of God, turned into a brute, or a thing, and held and used as all other property is held and used; and every American slaveholder, whatever be his title, character, or standing, in other respects, herds human beings, for whom Christ died, with "beasts and creeping things," and claims and uses them as property. The only idea attached to *slaveholders* in America, as essential to that character, is, a man who holds and uses his fellow-beings as property. Can he possibly have any moral right to that which he holds as his property; *i. e.* the bodies and souls of men. He surely cannot. He is then a *man-stealer*. No man can hold a slave in the United States, and not be a *man-stealer*.

Doctor Cox, and his seventy American brother delegates to the Alliance, as he says, were perfectly agreed in their views of slaveholders:—*i. e.* "That there were Christian slaveholders who should not be turned out of the Alliance." The doctor comes *four thousand miles*—for what purpose? To enlist the feelings of British Christians and ministers, in behalf of the wretched and imbruted victims of American religion and republicanism? No; but to induce them to unite with the pro-slavery clergy and churches in America, to associate the adored name of *Christ* with *man-stealers!* He told the slaveholders, before he left home, that the resolution to keep them out of the Alliance meant nothing, and that their *honour would be perfectly safe in his keeping*. He has done what he could to guard the honour of American "man-stealers"—to place those in a respectable position before the British public, who are guilty of the highest kind of theft," and "sinners of the first rank." He blasphemes the Son of God by attempting to make Him the companion of thieves and robbers! And, sorry am I to see that the *Rev. Dr. Liefchild*—from whom better things might have been expected—has pledged himself to sustain Dr. Cox, in his blasphemous attempt. When these *allies* of American man-stealers talk of their regard for the honour and glory of our Divine Redeemer, what can they mean? They insist that American slaveholders and Christ may be governed by one and the same spirit—that they are one with him—members of his body—and portions of his nature, while they hold and use him as an article of sordid merchandise, in the persons of his little ones! and associate him, in loving friendship, with "sinners of the first rank." They make him,—who came as the Lamb of God to take away sin, and who is without spot or blemish—"strike hands with thieves, and be a partaker with adulterers!"

This is the question—the great and fearful question—at issue, between the ministers and churches of Great Britain, and Doctor Cox, and seventy American delegates. Is the term *Christian* to become permanently associated with slaveholders? Are Christ and man-stealers to be united in loving communion? Oh! that the Lord may open the eyes of the British churches and ministers to all the consequences that will result from their joining Dr. Cox, and his co-delegates, in their efforts to consummate this most unnatural and God-defying union.

Dr. Cox puts forth the statement that his *Christian* slaveholders are *obliged* to hold slaves—that they cannot get quit of them because of the laws. Let all such slaveholders point their slaves to the north star, furnish them with a little food, and tell them to follow it till they come to Canada—a land of liberty and joy to them—and they would not have occasion to say they were obliged to hold slaves. It is the *Christian* slaveholder with whom the doctor identifies himself, and with whom he strikes hands. The *praying, devout, pious, Christian man-stealer*—he is the man whose dignity and honour he comes to England to vindicate. As a general thing, such are the worst of all slaveholders; themselves being witnesses. But I forbear, for the present, as I am given to understand that about the 12th of October, an Anti-Slavery meeting will be held in Manchester—probably in the Free-trade Hall—to consider the doings of the Alliance, and the position of the American delegates, in reference to American slaveholders. It is expected that George Thompson, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and others, will speak on that occasion; and, it is hoped that Doctor Cox, and his associates, will be there to answer, if they wish. Then the questions of the existence of involuntary slaveholders, and the holding slaves for their good, and of the slave-laws, will be considered.

There is one point, however, in Dr. Cox's speech to which I will further allude. He says—"There never had been such a thing in his land *as a free State becoming a slave State*." How could he make that assertion in the face of the facts that lie on every page, as it were, of the nation's history? There are now fifteen slave States, only six of which were slave States in 1787, (when the present Federal Government was formed,) i. e. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, all together comprising a fraction less than 300.000 square miles of territory. The States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, have been added to the Union since 1790. These States whose territory, to a large extent, was acquired by purchase from France and Spain, cover an area of seven hundred thousand square miles! and it was purchased for the sole and single purpose of extending and perpetuating Slavery. Three hundred thousand square miles of this territory (Texas) have been plundered from Mexico, and added to the United States within the past two years, and the Rev. Dr. Cox *knows* that Mexico had abolished Slavery on that territory twenty years ago. Mexico claimed it as a part of her *free* soil, and settlers from the United States seized and added it to the United States territory for the sole purpose of establishing and perpetuating Slavery.

I will close by adding, that if the Rev. Dr. Liefchild mean to redeem his pledge to Dr. Cox, to sustain him and his co-delegates from America, in their assertions touching American Slavery, and in their attempts to cement a union between Christ and Christ's deadliest enemies—the professed Christian slaveholders of America—he has undertaken a hateful, a heart-sickening, and perplexing job. He will find it difficult to sustain, in England, the Christian character of American slave-breeders and slave-traders, lay or clerical, or I am greatly mistaken as to the disposition and character of the British people—

Yours,

Dublin, Sept. 23, 1846. HENRY C. WRIGHT.

SIR CHARLES GREY, has been appointed Governor of Jamaica.

COADJUTORS.—"Assistant," like "shopman," having become common and low, a Lincolnshire establishment has dubbed its young men "coadjutors!"

Communications.

Coloured Seamen—Their Character and Condition. No. V.

Their Social, Civil, Moral, and Religious Character.

The time was when no man cared for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the sailor; he was looked upon only as an article of merchandise. Imported and exported from one country to another, and bartered for, sold, transferred from his ship to a rum-selling boarding-house—to the brothel, and those sinks of pollution, where he is exchanged for what he is worth, until, like a depreciated currency, he is shipped at a discount to some foreign port, and passed off as current coin.

The sailor's occupation necessarily shuts him out of the pale of social, civil, moral, and religious society; he is constantly forming new acquaintances in foreign and distant ports, and associating with a class of men whose habits of life very often (especially foreigners) compel them to seek refuge at sea from the vengeance of the sword of Justice for violating the laws of their country.

To those unacquainted with a sea-life, and the vicissitudes and snares which follow in the *wake* of the sailor—his hard usage at sea, wholly at the mercy of tyrant captains and brutal officers, (more especially the coloured sailor,) subject as he is to the unholy prejudice, in consequence of the *usage, customs*, and *laws* of his native country, seized upon when entering a Southern port of discharge, and thrust into prison for no other crime than that of having a coloured skin, where in some cases he is stripped of his hard earnings, and not permitted to depart until he has paid the utmost farthing,—it is not at all surprising that when on shore and unrestrained, he is careless and thoughtless, and gives way to his passions and appetites, and drowns all his troubles in a glass of grog.

Thus we see the mind and physical energies of the generous, free-hearted sailor, steeped in vices of all kinds. His social and civil rights, few—his moral and religious privileges as things that have no existence; his hopes crushed; his manhood reduced to the mere title of a brute, he is easily made the willing dupe of myriads of landsharks, pimps, and false-hearted landlords and base friends—he is stripped of his hard earnings, beaten, and left to wallow in misery and wretchedness. And alas! is there no help for old Ocean's sons? was the cry that greeted the ears of Christian philanthropists, coming from every point of the compass, until it had reached high heaven: and the spirit of God moved upon the waters of the mighty deep and caused the inhabitants thereof to sing a new song of deliverance from the powers of Satan and his kingdom! Now Bethel Churches, Seamen's Friend Societies, and Sailors' Homes, are established: magazines and papers are published advocating his claims, and Christians throughout the world unite in the glad sound, Glory to God in the highest, the *Sailor is free.*

It is not my purpose to disparage, or undervalue the many sterling virtues which, as a general rule, characterize the true-hearted sailor, for I am intimately acquainted with many who are an ornament to society and an honour to their country. Allowance must be made for the many precious gems that glitter amid the ruins of dissipated humanity.

For seventeen years I have been associated with this interesting class of people; five of which were spent at sea, in the capacity of a sailor. I have been twelve years engaged in seamen's affairs, and with this experimental knowledge, I feel safe in saying that there is a decided improvement in the social and civil habits of the coloured sailor.

Again, about one-third of the coloured seamen in the United States were born and reared in the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; and in these States education so far as the coloured man is concerned, is to a great extent prohibited, and many make choice of a sea-life as a means of subsistence. At an early age he is deprived of a good parental education, which is the foundation upon which rests the mighty intellect of man, and of his future hopes for good. His social and civil habits depend mainly upon paternal and maternal cultivation. Blessed is that wandering but reclaimed prodigal sailor who can date his redemption from the fact that he has a praying mother and father, or sister, and friends, at home, supplicating the Throne of Grace in his behalf! Now take into the account all of the disadvantages under which the coloured sailor labours, and it is astonishing that there should be any redeeming trait in their character left.

It has been more than twenty-seven years since the first effort was made in this country to evangelize seamen, during which time thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended for the benefit of white seamen, yet not one cent ever benefited the coloured sailor (within my knowledge) till 1839. Well, now what is the difference of character between the two classes, the one having been operated upon twenty-seven years, and the other but seven! You will bear in mind, that the ratio of the native American sailor is only 16 2-3 per cent. of the 150,000 seamen in the United States, all the rest being foreigners. The coloured seamen are eight per cent. of the whole. I have proven that the coloured sailor is every way qualified to man and command vessels of any class to any part of the world—that he has surmounted superhuman difficulties, and placed himself side by side with his white brother sailors, the prejudice against his colour, the usages of society, and the customs of this slaveholding republic, to the contrary notwithstanding.

I do not consider this fact a phenomenon to be gazed upon as one of the seven wonders of the world, but simply as an evidence that his social and civil habits are susceptible of the same improvement as that of the white sailor, provided always that his opportunities are the same.

Letter from Wm. W. Brown.

WARSAW, (N. Y.) Oct. 24, 1846.

FRIEND GAY:—I never write for the public eye, only when I am compelled. The progress of the cause in Western New-York, or at least in this vicinity, demands that something should be said, and, as I am alone, I must give you some account of the progress of the cause.

You are aware that I am in Wyoming county, though I came into the county a few days later than I should have done, having been detained by an accident. Two noble-hearted friends of the slave, John W. Paney, and Rodolphus W. Hewitt, of Weathersfield, took their wives in their wagons, and travelled over thirty miles to meet and welcome me into the county.

Though the weather, for the most of the time, has been unfavourable, my meetings have been large. At Castile, I talked two evenings, and on the second evening I gave them the remedy (disunion); and, for ought that I could see or hear, it was well received. I left, in this place, a number of copies of the "Constitution, a pro-slavery compact," "disunion," and gave the Standard a large circulation, as you will see. The citizens of Castile are willing to give our cause a fair investigation, and that, you know, is more than the people generally are willing to do. Perry is called the Anti-Slavery town in this county, but I found Castile far in advance of it.

On the 21st instant, I held a meeting at Warsaw. This place is the county-seat for Wyoming county, and these county-seats are hard places; they are a kind of a little city for the surrounding country. Lawyers, doctors, priests, and rogues, are to be found in those places. Though the county court was in session in this place, and in session the evening I held my meeting, we had a good audience, and at the close of the meeting the Hon. Seth M. Gates, made a move, and it was seconded by a Democrat, "Resolved, That Equal Suffrage be extended to coloured citizens," and it was unanimously carried. The next morning I received an invitation from Judge Skinner, the first Judge of the county, to lecture in the Court-House the next evening, saying that he would adjourn the court, and give me up the Court-House, and come and hear me. I, of course, accepted the invitation, and on Friday evening I lectured in the Court-House to a very large audience. Judges, lawyers, doctors, priests, &c. all being present. Gen. Thayer was called to the chair. He is a member of the democratic party, and a distinguished lawyer. The meeting, I think, had a good effect. This adjoining the county court to hear a nigger, shows some progress in Anti-Slavery. This Mexican war has opened the eyes of the people; they begin to look at the American Union in its true light. The period has, indeed, arrived, the crisis has come, when the wise, the virtuous, the patriotic, and the philanthropic of the United States, and the world, must examine into this Americanism, this slaveholding, woman-whipping, baby-stealing Republicanism. And when the people have examined it, as the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society have done, they will adopt our motto, and raise the cry of "No Union with slaveholders!" The cause is indeed progressing in Western New-York. How could it do otherwise under the management of Joseph C. Hathaway as general agent? He is just the man for the cause, and the cause is just the thing for him. His long and arduous efforts in the temperance cause, in this State, as well as his Anti-Slavery efforts, has gained for him a reputation and the respect and esteem of the people. Charles Lenox Remond, with his soul-stirring eloquence, has given an impetus to our cause in Western New-York. His labours here are appreciated by those who hear him. The people out here begin to see that the American Union is cemented together with the blood, the bones, and sinews of three millions of our countrymen; and they begin to hate the Union, and look upon the Constitution of the United States not only as slaveholding, but as a "Covenant with death and an agreement with hell," to keep our countrymen in chains.

Yours, truly,

W. W. BROWN.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOV. 12, 1846.

THE ADDRESS which follows, we received from England, by the last steamer, and hasten to lay it before our readers. We regret that want of room obliges us to omit nearly all the long list of names which is attached to it. We can only give the list of places whose residents signed, and the first names on the roll of signers. Among them are laymen and clergymen of high standing, and of every persuasion. Many of the ministers signed, not for themselves alone, but for their parishes, so that it is impossible to tell precisely how many consider themselves as virtually subscribers to the address.

We commend the address to the careful perusal of all those for whom it is intended, and to all who are in any way connected with them. Probably there are few of our readers who cannot put it into the hands of one such person at least, and probably more. We trust that this will be done everywhere, and whatever Anti-Slavery sentiment there may be in the (New School) Presbyterian Church, will be fanned into more vigorous life by this commendation and exhortation from the Christians of Great Britain.

Those persons desirous of seeing the names attached to this address, will find them at this office.

A FRIENDLY ADDRESS

From British Christians to the Ministers and Elders of the American Presbyterian Church, who bore a faithful testimony against Slavery in the late General Assembly at Philadelphia.

DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS:—We have long felt a warm and lively interest in the subject of American Slavery. We have deplored it on the ground of humanity, and have deeply sympathized with the unhappy negro, who, for no crime but that of the complexion given him by his Maker, has been doomed to a bondage the most cruel, and to a life of moral and physical degradation. We have lamented that a nation bound to us by so many ties, speaking the same language, and sprung from the same ancestry, should have its fair fame tarnished by so deep a blot; should labour under the stigma of cherishing an institution so abhorrent to the spirit of freedom, and so inimical to human happiness. We have also grieved over the system for the odium which it brings on our holy religion; believing that nothing has tended more to excite the scoffs of the infidel, and to cause rejoicing amongst the enemies of our common Christianity.

In past days, we watched, and many of us shared in, the struggle between Freedom and Slavery in our West India colonies, and most thankfully rejoiced when the final triumph was completed in the entire emancipation of the negroes. But perhaps we then paused too complacently, and did not sufficiently realize the awful fact, that there were yet three millions of slaves at no greater distance than the West Indies from our own shores; that the chain still clanked, and the whip resounded, in a land which had been colonized by our brethren, and whose citizens, though no longer under the same Government, were, in a great measure, subject to the same influences of thought and feeling as ourselves. But, if we were inactive then, we feel that we must retrieve our error now. The two countries are brought within a few days sail of each other. By the interchange of visits, our bonds of union are extended and consolidated. American periodicals, still damp from the printing press, are found upon our tables, exposing the enormities of American Slavery; whilst, at intervals, a fugitive slave makes his appearance amongst us, his back still scarred with the lash, and his spirit indignant with the wrongs that have been heaped upon him, and reveals, in all their harrowing intensity, the dark secrets of his prison-house.

It is impossible that we can withhold our sympathies from this down-trodden and afflicted race. We grieve to think that, for thousands of our sable brethren, there is no social circle with its blessed ties; no smiling homes that the oppressor cannot enter; no happy Sabbaths, when, hand in hand, they can go up to the house of God in company. We feel that our humanity is outraged in a people who are compelled to herd like brutes, or if they dare to enter into the marriage covenant, are liable to be torn asunder at any moment,—husband and wife—parent and child—to be passed under the hammer, and separated from each other, without any sympathy or remorse, and beyond the possibility of appeal.

Pressed down by these thoughts, and burdened by a sense of the heinousness of the wrong, we have been induced to look around us for some open door through which to co-operate against this giant evil, or, at least, by a word of sympathy and encouragement, to endeavour to strengthen the hands of those who are labouring for its suppression.

Dear Christian friends, we have rejoiced to observe the stand you have lately made for freedom in the General Assembly at Philadelphia. We wish to salute you as brethren, nobly struggling for the right—enabled through Divine Grace, in the presence of a powerful opposition, to lift up your voices on behalf of the oppressed slave. Ardently do we desire your encouragement in your praiseworthy career: most sincerely do we appreciate your Christian testimony to the essential sinfulness of slaveholding. It has been published to the world that "the American churches are the bulwarks of American Slavery." We trust that it is reserved for you and your confederates to disprove the charge, or wipe away the reproach: it is for you to decide that the evil shall be abolished by peaceful and legitimate means, by argument and persuasion, by the tongue and the pen, rather than by the knife of the assassin and the torch of the incendiary.

Assuredly for no invidious comparison, but rather for your encouragement, we would remind you that it was the Christian churches of Great Britain that gave the death-blow to West India Slavery. Too long the vicious monster had been tolerated; but when he dared to lay his hands upon a Christian missionary, and to make a bonfire of the house of prayer, a spirit of holy indignation was aroused, which quickly laid him prostrate in the dust. And the spirit of Slavery is everywhere the same. It cannot endure the beams of the Sun of Righteousness. It hates the light, conscious that it not only exposes its deformity, but perils its existence. Bear witness the law of your Southern States, which makes it felonious to teach a slave to read! What more could be wanted to complete the condemnation of Slavery, than its own confession embodied in such an edict? O, that the churches of America would unite as with the heart of one man, for the purpose of grappling with this mighty evil! They scatter their zealous and devoted missionaries in every quarter of the habitable globe; and we rejoice in their success. They send them to the farthest verge of Asia, to the base of the Himalayas, and to the borders of the Yellow Sea, and it is well: but, O that they would embrace in their expansive sympathy the perishing heathen at their own doors,—the myriads of African descent, toiling on the rice swamp and the cotton-field, proscribed from civilized society, shut out *systematically* from the light of the Gospel, and exposed to all the wretchedness and folly of a debasing superstition!

We beseech you, dear brethren, to persevere in your righteous agitation, till the object be achieved. Cease not to expose the enormity of the crime of buying and selling a fellow-creature; of reducing a human being, endued with an immortal soul, to the level of an ox or an ass. Stand fast by that clause of your declaration which asserts that American Slavery "is intrinsically an unrighteous and oppressive system," "opposed to the prescriptions of the law of God, to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, and to the best interests of humanity." Bring the powerful influence of church discipline to bear upon the slaveholder. Deal with him as with a man-stealer, or a profane person. Exhort him to forsake his wickedness and repent. And if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto you "as a heathen man and a publican." Thus uniting firmness with Christian meekness, and looking unto God for strength and wisdom, we doubt not that He will bless your efforts, and eventually bestow an abundant measure of success.—That such may be your speedy and happy experience, and that the blessing of those who are ready to perish may rest upon you, is the earnest prayer of your admiring friends and fellow-labourers whose names are undersigned:

ENGLAND AND WALES.

London—Daniel Wilson, M. A. Vicar of Islington, and 25 others.
Birmingham—John Angell James, and 37 others.
Bath—Peter Hall, clergyman of Church of England, and 21 others.
Bristol—John Wright, member of Church of England, and 10 others.
Bradford, Yorkshire—James Ackworth, A. M. President and Theological Tutor of Baptist College, and 40 others.
Colchester—Samuel Carr, Vicar of St. Peter's, and 46 others.
Leeds—Thomas Scales, pastor of Independent Church, and 11 others.
New-Castle-on-Tyne—Richard Clayton, chaplin of St. Thomas's, and 54 others.
North Shields—George John Duncan, minister of Presbyterian Church, and 19 others.
South Shields—James Carr, incumbent of St. Hilda, and 36.
Sunderland—Robert Brown, Mayor, and 11 others.
Sheffield—Thomas Smith, A. M. minister of the Independent Church, and tutor in the Independent College, Rotherham, and 6 others.
Worcester—John Davies, Rector of St. Clement's, and 18 others.
York—James Everett, Wesleyan minister for forty years, and 7 others.
Banbury—John Lewis, Congregational minister, and 5 others.
Chatham and Rochester—John Stock, Baptist minister, and 8 others.
Ockermouth—J. C. Fisher, Wood Hall, Justice of the Peace, and 12 others.
Croydon—William Campbell, Independent minister, and 7 others.
Cheltenham—John Lewis, Barrister at Law, and 2 others.
Christchurch—D. Gunn, Independent minister, and 15 others.
Darlington—Robert Pritchett, Congregational minister and 8 others.
Exeter—John Bristow, minister of first Congregational Church, and 4 others.
Fording Bridge—Charles Hatch, Vicar, and 5 others.
Gloucester—Joseph Hyatt, minister of Congregational church, and 13 others.
Hertford—Isaac Anthony, Independent minister, and others.
Hexam—Peter Bannatyne, minister of United Session Church, and 3 others.
Hitchin—John W. Wain, Congregational minister, and 2 others.
Ipswich—W. H. Alexander, Society of Friends, and 2 others, do.
Manchester—William McKerrow, minister of Scotch Secession Church, and 4 others.
Poole—P. W. Jolliffe, Perpetual Curate, and 3 others.
Selby—James Sneetham, Wesleyan minister, and 10 others.
Tavistock—Maria Paull, member of Society of Friends, and Margaret P. Paull, do.
Whitney—Robert Tozer, Congregational minister, and William Sharpe, Wesleyan minister, Henry Gwyther, M. A. Vicar of Yardley, Worcestershire, J. W. Newbold, M. A. Incumbent of Goole, Yorkshire, George G. Beadon, Rector of Axbridge, Somerset, Richard A'Court Beadon, Vicar of Cheddar, do. and 31 others.
Neath—D. Jeffreys, curate and chaplin of Union Workhouse, and 10 others.
Swansea—William Jones, Independent minister, and 6 others.

SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh—Adam Black, Lord Provost, Wm. Duncan, Magistrate, D. I. Thomas, Dean of Guild, fifteen members of the Town Council, and two ministers: the last, James Clark, minister of Baptist Church since 1806, signed, to the best of my knowledge and belief, most cordially and unanimously, on behalf of the whole Church and congregation. Gal. vi. 9. Numb. vi. 24, 27. 1st Cor. xv. 58, and 30 others.
Leith—Alexander Davidson, minister of North Leith Church, and 27 others.
Glasgow—Ralph Wardlow, D. D. pastor of Independent Church, and 13 others.
Perth—C. G. Sidney, Lord Provost, and 23 others.
Aberdeen—James Stirling, minister of United Secession Church, and 19 others.
Paisley—John Henderson, late Chief Magistrate, and 13 others.
Dunfermline—Peter Chalmers, minister of Established Church, and 19 others.
Kilmarnock—Peter Macindoe, D. D. minister of Reformed Presbyterian Church, and 18 others.
Kelso—James Jarvie, minister of Relief Church, and 2 others,—also the names of 40 females, residents at *Kelso*, members of the Relief and Secession churches.
Lochgilphead, Argyleshire—John Mackintosh, Baptist minister, in the name of the whole church, who would have signed this address if there had been time to lay it before them; and 3 others.

HENRY RICHARDSON, Sec. pro tem.
5 Summerhill Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Eng.

The address closes with the names of twenty-five ministers and elders of different parishes in the same district of Scotland. Being in all *seven hundred and fifty-six names.*

Scripture and Slavery.

The advocate of Slavery continues to plead Scripture. The opposer of Slavery denies the justice of the plea. Sometimes it is even spoken of as if explicitly and unambiguously Slavery were condemned throughout the Old Testament and the New. I do not propose anything like a full examination of these different views. My design is rather to present a few general thoughts, which it may be well for an inquirer to carry with him into the investigation.

The first of which is, that so far as the letter of the Scriptures is concerned, this is a question of grammatical and historical interpretation. It is not for one man to begin with assuming the rectitude of slaveholding, and then to force chapter and verse into support of his assumption. Nor is it more for another man, even beginning with the self-evident principle of the intrinsic sinfulness of slaveholding, to force chapter and verse into demonstration of the principle. The meaning of a passage is not to be prejudged, but to be ascertained. This position is so obvious that it may be left without farther remark.

I observe next, that the language being similar to that which now refers to Slavery, does by no means determine an essential identity of the ancient fact which it designates, with the modern fact to which it is applied. Social institutions, as well as civil and ecclesiastical, are always fluent and changeful, never fixed and unchangeable. In the process from the Nomadic to the ultimate form of Hebraism, there may have been more transitions than we can now understand. The nearest modern parallel to Abraham, seems to me to be presented by the Arabian chieftain. Modern civilization seems not altogether unlike the state of his posterity in later times. In these different states of society, social relations exhibit corresponding difference. All intermediate stages are marked by their own modes of relation. At the same time, words may change less than relations;—less in form, but equally in application. For instance, the word SERVANT may denote at one time the subordinates, whether as bearers of office, or as inferior soldiers, or even as hired or compelled labourers, of a more potent chief. In a different state of society, the same word may lose the former of these significations, and retain but the latter. In the East, SERVANT may denote a high office, even as in our times, a Latin word, not unlike it in meaning, designates the higher MINISTERS of Government. In England, SERVANT may denote an individual discharging inferior offices of the family, without admitted dignity on the one side, without acknowledged coercion on the other. Besides this English use of the word, SERVANT may become, as in America, a softer, as well as more comprehensive, name for SLAVE. Every slave is indeed servant, though every servant is not, therefore, slave. Hence the recognition of servants in the Scripture is far from proving that they were slaves;—they might be, they might not be—this must be determined by something else than resemblance, or even identity of words. So likewise where, for instance, custom allows the purchase of a wife with money, the mere fact of purchase does not determine that an individual so purchased became, thereby, actual and transferable property. Allowance must always be made for differences of the social state, for changes of individual and domestic life, and for perpetual modifications of language. Without predetermining what the Scriptures shall teach, let the inquirer carry this consideration into the research; and whether they are found to condemn or to justify slaveholding, let him accept the historical interpretation.

But suppose the historical interpretation assures him that, according to Moses, or Paul, or other name, God authorized and justified Slavery in ancient times. To make the language broader and more applicable,—God according to the Scriptures, approves, as right, the enslavement of men. Suppose this proposition established. What, then? We are thrown back on another question,—The authority of the Scripture. It is either divine, or it is not. If it is not, then the argument derived thence in favor of Slavery becomes a nullity. All we have in this case is the judgment of Moses, of Paul, of others, in regard to the subject; and why should their judgment outweigh mine or any man's? If, on the contrary, we maintain the divine authority of the Scriptures, what? We maintain it either with reason, or without. The latter side of the alternative, no man will be solicitous to claim. Each will say, I believe with reason; nay, my belief derives itself from sound reason. And all, I presume, will acknowledge a divine authority in reason, be the reason but true, not false; sound, not unsound; good, not bad. The true soul bears in it an authority from God. But the true soul, the pure reason,—and clearer and louder as it is truer and purer,—affirms Freedom, and denounces Slavery. That is, God speaking in man, condemns slaveholding; God speaking in Scripture, approves slaveholding. And yet there is acknowledged no other than one unchanging God!

But the man believes the Divine authority of Scripture, because the Divine authority of Reason, of Truth, recognized by the soul, demands it. Surely the very authority which demands universal Freedom, does not confirm belief in authority which forbids universal Freedom, and approves the enslavement of men. Every one must see the absurdity of this. Admit, then, that the Scripture must be rejected, or received and interpreted on the principles of true Reason; admit, moreover, that the Scripture fairly interpreted justifies Slavery; and what is the conclusion? Either that, so far as this subject is concerned, the Scripture is unreasonable, undivine, false, or that Reason and God may pronounce self-contradictions. In other words, reduced to such an interpretation of the Bible, a man must either abandon it, thus far, or abandon the very reason for which he holds it. It is for him either to forsake an old error, or to retain a reasonless prejudice. True to God, he must deny that God contradicts himself. True to God, he must deny the word which falsifies him. The Father of all approves the enslavement of no son of his: the man who saith he does, belies him. Be it Moses, Paul, or any other, I say to him, God teaches me the law of Freedom; if thou proclaimest Slavery, thy word is false, and I reject it.

All this is of course hypothetical. For one, I am not ready to let go my reverence for the books which Christendom pronounces sacred. To me, they are sacred. To me, they are so sacred, that I am not willing they should be desecrated by service done to Slavery. But I tell all who concur with me in such reverence of those holy books, that we are very far from exalting them in generous minds, by searching them for sanctions or apologies for any wrong. Every man of unperverted mind knows, that such a system as that of American Slavery, is an unmitigated wrong. He knows it, I repeat. No need of going to any book about it, any authority out of himself. "In no contingency would I be slave myself; in no contingency could I make another man slave to me;" this is the spontaneous assurance of every pure and generous spirit. Tell him, convince him, that the Bible contradicts the assurance, and he will exclaim, "Away with such a tool for despots. I know Slavery is only evil; and he blasphemes God, who proclaims him its advocate. No matter whether the blasphemy come from ancient Jew or from modern divine."

The Divine Providence, forever revealing itself in the elevation of man, is one, not with the sins which it endures, but with the good which resists and overcomes them. The Divine authority of the Scriptures in the same manner is one, not with the sins which it recognizes as facts, or which it endures through man's perverseness, but with the good and the true which it announces for our redemption. Polygamy is not divinely authorized, because patriarchs had more wives than one, and the express word of prohibition is not written. Piracy is quite as really sinful, as if Moses or Paul had written chapters against it. Gaming may be without Divine authority, though the precise passage condemning it is not readily found. Nay, I cannot think the cruel fights of Gladiators approved of by the Universal Father, because Paul wrote his longest epistle to the Romans, and said not a word about them. The Divine authority which the Bible possesses, is precisely the Divine Truth which it contains and demonstrates. The spirit is that Truth, not the mere letter. The true question is, whether the Truth, the Spirit, the Redeemer, the Father, approves Slavery. That is the question, or rather no question. CHRISTIANITY IS FREEDOM. Divine approbation of Slavery! Christianity justifying Slavery! As well say, light is at one with darkness; day, with night; harmony, with discord; justice, with injustice; good, with evil. In one word, it is to say, that Freedom approves and justifies the Slavery which overthrows it.

I close with a single affirmation, which I shall not stay to prove:—Every word which proceeds from God, involves in it, from a necessity intrinsic in its nature, the condemnation of all enslavement of men. The word which contains no such condemnation, may come from other source, no matter what; from the Father it neither did come, nor could come.—T. T. S.

"Send Back the Money."

We find the following paragraph in a letter from Miss Margaret Fuller to the *Tribune*. We are glad to know so directly that Dr. Chalmers is convinced that the Church must yield at last, though the "assault," as Miss Fuller is pleased to call it, is nothing but a wholesome public opinion created by the plain truths which the Abolitionists have told to the people of Scotland:

With Dr. Chalmers we passed a couple of hours. He is old now, but still full of vigour and fire. We had an opportunity of hearing a fine burst of indignant eloquence from him. "I shall blush to my very bones," said he, "if the *Chaarrch* (sound these two rrs with as much burr as possible and you will get an idea of his mode of pronouncing that unweariable word) "if the Chaarrch yields to the storm." He alluded to the outcry now raised by the Abolitionists against the Free Church, whose motto is, "Send back the money," *i. e.* money taken from the American slaveholders. Dr. C. felt that if they did not yield from conviction they must not to assault. His manner in speaking of this gave me an idea of the nature of his eloquence. He seldom preaches now.

Papers on the Slave Power. By John G. Palfrey.

Every friend of freedom must feel indebted to this gentleman's pen. He has made a clear, historical exposition of matters relating to the growth of Slavery, brief, but comprehensive. The power of arrangement and statement is not unworthy of the author of Lectures upon the Christian Evidences: and we are glad to possess, within the limits of his pamphlet, so available a view of the present crisis, with its gradual development.

With the movement section of the Whig party, or rather with its spirit and purpose, we most heartily sympathize: it is not too much to say, that, until the adjournment of the Faneuil Hall Convention, it was the centre of our hope and interest. But we begin to diverge at the very point where the movement Whigs begin to state their remedy. They are clear, strong, and conscientious in their exposure of the slave-power, and in their determination to resist and extinguish it. But their "Morrison's pill" seems to us altogether inadequate.

This is generally the case. People who are in earnest will be a little bigoted about their favourite remedy. Try my salve, say the old ladies; and they really feel privileged to get up a little coolness if the advice gratis is not eagerly accepted. But the present matter is one of great seriousness; and with respect to the pamphlet before us, our sympathy with it ceases to be cordial and entire at the 22d number: "What should the free States do about it?"

They should not meditate Disunion: says the writer. Indeed, to say nothing about the positive advantages to be derived from the Union, its dissolution would be no reasonable remedy, "because, whenever the free States should be in a condition to apply that remedy, they would be in a condition to effect the same object without any such strong expedient." That the people should not *meditate* it, is past deprecating. We have been astonished by the results of private conversation, convincing us how much this dreadful heresy has spread; and that, too, among staid and cautious people, who still hate abolitionism, but who have clearly presented to themselves the alternative of dissolution of the North, or of the Union. They are people in whom the moral sense has received a salutary fillip from the late outrages, from a feeling of political loss, and from a presentiment of a far more disastrous future. Many a quiet old Whig has begun to think Disunion to be the truest conservatism: the movement party will be surprised at the accessions of strength, when it begins to ply that lever. And, upon second thought, it is the most natural thing in the world, since the objections of the writer fail to convince: and they could not be more clearly and plausibly defined.

The free States would *not* be "in a condition to effect the same object without any such strong expedient." In fact, the writer himself acknowledges it upon a subsequent page. After mentioning two essential particulars, the repeal of the kidnapping statute, and the opening of the Federal Courts for imprisoned citizens, upon which the free States are to insist; he says: "Redress in these two essential particulars, though belonging to the province of the simple legislation of Congress, cannot now be obtained by the power of even the united North alone, because the Senate, in which half the voters are from slaveholding States, must concur," &c. But his hope is that in cases so clear, sundry Southern Senators will become regenerated, and vote with the North. And upon every point where his moderate remedy would seem at first to promise a dubious issue, Mr. Palfrey simply hopes that the regeneration of the South (the condition of Northern freedom) will ensue, because the South will gradually get itself regenerated. The *object* of the remedy viciously enters into its *composition*.

It seems to us, while we speak with deference, that this is the fatal flaw in the latter sections of the pamphlet. If redress upon the two essential particulars above-mentioned, is to depend, after all, upon the precarious virtue of Southern members, what is our hope in other particulars far more important? Shall we trust the chance of extinguishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, to a change in the views or morality of the Southern majority in the Senate? Upon what data can we build such a hope? Have we been deceived so seldom that we can afford to trust them any longer? Will the writings of Northern Whigs, will the sharp and indignant paragraphs of Mr. Palfrey, upon this very point, diminish Southern opposition to a measure so radical? And will they anticipate, with virtuous precipitation, our wishes with respect to the basis of representation? We must say that the most transcendental fanatic never conceived a hope so vague and baseless, so rebuked and abolished by the experience of the passing hour. We can here, calmly, but earnestly retort the charge of visionary, suicidal measures; for we can conceive of no measure more destructive to our country's interests, more fatal to our own moral dignity and freedom, than is contained in the assertion that "the same state of things which rendered" dissolution "possible, would render" it "needless," on the ground that the enlightened South would swell the tide of Northern influence.

The hope of a "prohibition, by act of Congress, of the domestic slave-trade between the different States of the Union," is conceived upon the same slender basis. We question not that hope, also, will be "deferred" long enough to make the hearts of the movement Whigs sick enough of ever having entertained it. And, for that sane and salutary moment, every friend of freedom will hope, on better grounds than are afforded for either the political or moral regeneration of the South, corrupted by possessing the united source of wealth and power. Yes, we have more substantial hopes of seeing the re-establishment of Northern freedom, of the old uncompromising integrity, which rings out in the clear words of Channing, who anticipated both our present trouble *and its remedy*; "we will yield everything to" the Union "but Truth, Honour, and Liberty. *These we can never yield.*"

Yet we do yield them at every emergency. The prophecy that this or that measure will be equivalent to Dissolution, that, indeed, on the whole, we cool Saxons have made up our minds to consider it so. And yet when the crisis has passed, and the equivalent to Dissolution has become a fact, we "eat the bravest words we ever spoke," by quietly subsiding, as if the position of things had not been altered, as if no Dissolution had really been achieved, as if the Constitution, by which we swear, had not been flouted and abolished.

Who has a more inextinguishable faith in the power of simple truth, than an Abolitionist—who is more willing to trust great and holy things to its issue? It is not forswearing our faith that truths regenerate, to say that the South will nullify our influence, and use the interim of our forbearance to bind more of its heavy burdens on our souls, and at last only surrender to the necessity of its position that which it refused to the cogency of our appeals. Disunion is the only position which will affect the South for its own benefit, and necessitate, by consequent internal legislation, the abolition of Slavery. In the face of past experience, and of our present dilemma, will the movement Whigs undertake the regeneration of the non-slaveholders of the South, with the tempting bait of the Union still existing to excite slaveholding influence? Can we be stronger from a distance than that organized power of slaveholders upon their own ground? And how long must we wait, and how many more precious, blood-baptized liberties must we surrender, before the non-slaveholder has turned the tables to work our pleasure? Verily, the Richmond Whig is smiling at the sanguine fanaticism which has out-Heroded the raciest Quixotism of ultra-abolitionism! The Greek Calends will recur several times before our sympathizing Southern Anti-Slavery party has released us from the disaster and the crime of a position like ours at present.

And this theory supposes, too, that the North will become so unanimous, that not a peg will be left here on which the South might hang a bribe or a pretext. Less unanimity than that will serve for Dissolution, but more will serve for nothing under the Union. And it supposes, too, that the Southern non-slaveholders will, in the course of nature, and from a sympathy with free labour, form one solid party, in which the slaveholders can sow no jealousy of the North, turning, most likely, upon a tariff question, or whatever the available wire might be at any given time. Upon descending to probable particulars the scheme grows more Utopian at every step. The South will not thank the movement Whigs for having broached it, since they already anticipate it and provide for the emergency. And the patriarchs of Southern chivalry, not yet imbued with the concessive spirit of the gentlemanly Abraham, who said to Lot, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee: if thou wilt take the left hand then I will go to the right," will soon regenerate the mad-caps of South Carolina, who have forgotten in a flow of passion, that *union is strength*. Yes, we will thank them thus to secure *to us* the vindication of our country's honour.—J. W.

Anti-Slavery League and the Evangelical Alliance.

We have received through the kindness of attentive friends in England a number of newspapers by the Steamer, from which we should be glad to extract largely for this week's paper, were we not already crowded. They contain full and interesting reports of meetings of the League in various parts of England, to review the proceedings of the Alliance, at which Messrs. Garrison, Thompson, and others, were present. We shall copy some of their speeches in next week's paper.

From the enthusiasm with which these meetings, and the principles advocated in them, are greeted by the people, it is very evident that the pro-slavery position assumed by the Evangelical Alliance will be its ruin. With no other vitality than that which it could derive from a narrow, and bigoted sectarism, such a step as it took in relation to Slavery could not but be fatal to it. There must needs be something of humanity in any movement of the present day professing to be Christian when appealing to the people for support.

We cannot refrain from giving a single extract from a speech of George Thompson at a great meeting at Bristol. The whole speech is in Mr. Thompson's best style, but we have no room but for this one paragraph:

Let me say a word here about Dr. S. H. Cox. That gentleman, after practising a great amount of discretion in London, took the opportunity of a public breakfast at Liverpool, a few hours before he sailed, to utter the following respecting my beloved American friends now in this country:—"Will you, he says, allow men of no character—men of whom I always try to forbear to say a word, but who are endeavouring to pull down the Church, to overthrow the Government, to abrogate the Sabbath, to destroy or mystify the ordinance of marriage, talking of woman's rights as if nothing was to be said of woman's honour—men who will take the sword from the thigh of the magistrate—will you allow such men to come to England to prejudice you against the wisest and best of men in our Republic?" Now, Sir, mark the cowardice of the man. He knew, or at least he thought, that ere these words could appear in type, he would be on the Atlantic. Not so. The Great Britain,—as though it could not carry such a "Jonah,"—(loud cheers)—a worse than "Jonah," for he repented,—stranded,—and the accuser was sent back to answer for his conduct. He is, I understand, now in this country: I have read his speech on my way here, and I have determined to expose its falsehood and misrepresentation, on the spot on which it was delivered. I therefore send through the press the following challenge to the Rev. S. H. Cox, of Brooklyn, New-York. "Dr. Cox—Sir: The untoward event which happened to the Great Britain steamer, having obliged you to return to England, I take the opportunity which this accident furnishes me, of informing you, that it is my intention, publicly to review so much of the speech delivered by you at the breakfast meeting in Liverpool, on the 21st of September last, as relates to the subject of American Slavery, and the measures and character of American Abolitionists. This I shall do, Providence permitting, at a free public meeting in the concert room, Nelson street, Liverpool, on the evening of Monday, the 19th instant; and do undertake, there and then, to prove (if the report of your speech be true), that you have been guilty of misrepresentation, of the perversion of facts and of "bearing false witness against your neighbour." I invite you to be present, and pledge myself you shall be heard in reply. I beg you to understand that I shall confine myself strictly to the speech you are reported to have delivered. I am, &c. George Thompson." (Loud cheers.) In the mean time, I pronounce the passage I have read a malicious and unfounded libel.

It is to be presumed that Dr. Cox was not present at the meeting.

Anti-Slavery Meeting.

At a public meeting held on Monday evening in the King street Wesleyan Chapel, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Resolved, That we tender our sincere and hearty thanks to those friends who so earnestly interested themselves in behalf of the slave George Kirk, and assisted him in his laudable efforts to escape from that foulest of foul systems, American Slavery; and especially do we commend the course taken by the learned counsellors, Messrs. Jay, White, and McKeon; and hail with joy the demonstrations made by certain of the daily journals, presaging a purer public sentiment in our city concerning the iniquity which has so long made America justly the scorn of the world.

Resolved, That we heartily approve the suggestions of the Tribune, that the recent slave case should be an occasion of a public meeting to demonstrate our utter abhorrence of the course taken by the Mayor and police of the city at that time.

Judge Edmonds' Decision.—The Richmond Standard says of Judge Edmonds' decision:

This decision must necessarily force us to this additional enactment: that any captain who shall find a slave secreted in his vessel, shall immediately return him to the port from whence he was taken, under the penalty of incurring all the liabilities to which he would be subjected for a voluntary abduction.

We hope "our Southern brethren" will pass just such an enactment as this. These little lessons are teaching the North what they have to do with Slavery, and the faster they are multiplied the better. There are plenty of Buckleys and Hannums who would obey such a law, but a damaged cargo on their arrival at a Northern port, or some other accident would bring the question home to owners and insurers. Messrs. Sturgis & Clearman, the owners of the "Mobile," it is said, are willing, and were while the case of Kirk was pending, to pay the money-value of the fugitive, to save further trouble. No doubt also, there are many merchants of the same stamp who are willing to pay such a tax for their Southern trade. But a delay of some days in a voyage, and the risk of forfeiting the insurance at the end of it, will put rather a different face upon the matter. The merchant, however, must run the risk, or the offices put a new clause in the policies. So when the question comes down to the tangible one of dollars and cents, we may hope to see a trial of strength between the "peculiar institutions" of the North and the South—money-making and Slavery.

Election in Massachusetts.

The result of the election in Massachusetts has damped our hopes of the old Bay State. We thought there was more manliness in her people, more love of liberty, more contempt for the tools of the cotton Lords, and a higher appreciation of what the character of her public servants ought to be. But we must still "wait a little longer" for the "good time coming," for come it must, when Massachusetts will be herself again—that is, if she do n't put it off too long, of which, we confess we have some fears.

Governor Briggs, who volunteered to beat up volunteers for the war for Slavery in Mexico, is re-elected Governor by a majority of about seven thousand. Winthrop, who voted for that same war, is also re-elected. We cannot help thinking that the result in both cases might have been somewhat different, had the Young Whigs manfully come out under their own colours, three months ago, and have rallied, as we have no doubt they could, all of the party that do not turn towards Milk street in their prayers, as the Mussulman does to Mecca; and by their uncompromising course, have *turned out* of the party all the lay brethren of the overgrown Abbot, instead of waiting till they were themselves so unceremoniously read out by the *Boston Atlas*. They might have defeated both Briggs and Winthrop. However, in consideration of their being Young Whigs, perhaps we should not be surprised at what seems very like timidity, and self-distrust. We hope to see other counsels prevail in the course of the next year. The spirit we want to see, is that of Dr. Howe, who was nominated in Mr. Sumner's place—he declining—when he said, you want a man to be shot at,—to fall in the ditch, that others may pass over him to victory—here I am! That is the temper that wins a battle; and when the leaders of the Young Whigs are filled with it, and care more for the right than for party, more for victory than the honours thereof, then they will win.

Election in New-York.—John Young is elected Governor, with a Democratic Lieutenant Governor. Twenty-three Whig members of Congress out of thirty-four, are also elected, and the Legislature is Whig. The new Constitution is probably adopted, but the equal suffrage to coloured people is lost.

From our Correspondent.

Baltimore, Nov. 8, 1846.

Dear Sir:—The weather for a week has been decidedly rainy yet very warm. Since I last wrote you the Yearly Meetings of the Hicksite Quakers were held here. They have some warm Anti-Slavery men among them, and we looked for some discussions in this way; but the *spirit* did not move any of them to speak on this subject, and we were disappointed.

Our city papers have teemed of late, with letters and communications from Monterey, descriptive of the incidents of the recent battles. This news has set our goodly citizens all on fire, and our streets have been daily the scenes of military parades—escorting the remains of *duelists* and *warriors*, and "in honour of fallen heroes," &c. Even the *Christians* here wore a self-satisfied smile at the news of the "glorious achievements" of our Sunday-School, Christianly-educated soldiers, over the semi-barbarians of Mexico! We are told that many of the soldiers were found kneeling around the altar at the Cathedral, the morning after Monterey was conquered. What a glorious morning was that for Christianity! How every Christian heart must leap for joy at the introduction of the mild and peace-loving doctrines of Jesus into the heart of that savage country. Who can say ought against the missionary labours of our little army in Mexico!

Our city is again to be the scene of a legalized murder. The victim is to be Joseph Alexander, who was convicted at the city court for the murder of Washington Shepherd; both coloured. When will this spirit of an age of darkness be abolished from among us? I doubt whether anything effectual can be done for him. Governor Pratt could, up to almost the last day of Torrey's life, seat himself at the festive board, spread at the expense of the State, at the Penitentiary, and sip his champagne with his invited guests, until, to one of the latter at least, the pain became *real*, and yet turn a deaf ear to the tender entreaties of a doating wife for the release of her husband, and his restoration to life and liberty. From such a man we cannot expect anything like humanity; and Alexander will have to die.

There has been something of a discussion at the Jefferson Lyceum recently, on the subject of Slavery. The question was:—"Is Slavery, as it exists in the United States, morally justifiable?" This, I presume, is but the commencement of a series of debates on this subject, and we may look for some advances in the freedom of speech during the coming winter. Yours, &c.

N.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from London.

Timely visit of Mr. Garrison—Dr. Cox's Letter to the Evangelist—Frederick Douglass in the World's Temperance Convention—Evangelical Alliance—Its overthrow—Great meeting at Manchester—Speeches by Wright, Thompson, Douglass, and Garrison.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

Dear Sir:—You will not be indifferent to learn that the fruits of William Lloyd Garrison's visit to this country are beginning already to appear. Never did any event seem more providential than the concurrence of the visit of our friend with that of the delegates to the Temperance Convention and Evangelical Alliance. The pro-slavery spirit broke loose first in the meeting of the temperance delegates; in proof of which, I refer you to the letter of Dr. S. H. Cox, to the New-York Evangelist. In that letter, if I mistake not, side by side with a profession of regard for the slave, will be found the concentrated essence of hatred to thorough-going abolition. It is, in the words of a living author, full of "splenetic atrabiliar reflections." Nothing but the highest confidence in the rectitude of W. L. Garrison would have ever induced the supposition that this man was capable, to say the least, of losing his balance, and casting upon his opponents nothing but mire and dirt. The dirt, however, won't stick on this side of the Atlantic, not even upon Frederick Douglass. It is commonly said here that no one could judge of the difficult position of the members of the Alliance, who was not himself a member. Now, I believe this will apply very well to the case of Dr. Cox and Frederick Douglass. No one can well understand the spleen of the doctor, who was not present at the great gathering at Covent Garden, when the "Ephesian uproar," as the doctor says, took place. "The effect was constantly raised—the moral scene was superb and glorious—when Frederick Douglass, the coloured abolition agitator and ultraist came to the platform," &c. Poor Frederick, how dared you to talk "of the American delegates, and to them, as if you had been their schoolmaster, and they your docile and devoted pupils?" With your permission, Sir, I will put the matter in another way. The meeting was opened by the chairman, G. W. Alexander, who made a short speech, then, with one or two exceptions, followed a whole regiment of American delegates; who these were, you may easily guess, when you remember that "the effect was constantly raised, and that the moral scene was superb and glorious." Now, in truth, all this plunged me into the most fearful perplexity. Not a word was breathed about Slavery in America, so that I had almost doubted whether there were such a thing there, especially as the paradisiacal scenes which the Coxes, Pattons, and Kirks, painted as gladdening the eyes of all America, seemed to put the existence of Slavery beyond the limits of credibility. The beautiful illusion, however, speedily vanished; Frederick Douglass appeared. "Oh! cruel Frederick, what spirit from beneath prompted you to strike a discordant note where all was harmony and seraphic symphonies?" But Frederick Douglass appeared. Permit me here, however, to glance at one feature in this movement. The *meeting* had been well announced. In the announcement, Frederick's name was conspicuous. *I'll* tell you why. It was calculated to "draw," and it had the desired effect. But it was not designed to bring hearers for *him*, but for others. Douglass, it was expected, would speak early; but the expectations of the audience were disappointed. How many speakers do you suppose delivered themselves before Douglass? No less than ten! And it is doubtful whether the "coloured abolition agitator" would have had a chance of troubling the waters even then, if the audience had not become thoroughly impatient. Have him, they would. He came, and, in language, in which, if not so mellifluous as Doctor Cox's, was quite as apposite, and more adapted to "stir men's blood," alluded to the fact that the coloured population, even in the temperance cause, had been reviled and ill-used in Philadelphia, on the occasion of one of their demonstrations. Immediately a telegraphic communication was passed to the Chairman, who instantly, and most significantly pulled Frederick by the coat-tail, which meant, as every body knew—"leave off." All the other speakers had been allowed fifteen minutes; some had taken thirty, but Frederick, up to this moment, had occupied about seven, only. The audience were just beginning to enjoy themselves, when, lo! *their* enjoyment was to be dashed by a recommendation to the speaker to desist.

It was at this point that the "Ephesian uproar" commenced. Call it what uproar you will, Sir, it was one of the right sort. The audience found that they had been cajoled, and they now, with one rushing, mighty voice, for about the space of ten minutes, cried, "Douglass, Douglass, Douglass!" Doctor Cox says in this same letter, they all wanted to reply. Whether they did, is doubtful; it does very well to say so now the danger is over; but one thing is certain, that all which could be achieved in a reply might have obviated the whole catastrophe, had they been commonly honest in their previous speeches. They have no one to blame but themselves for running athwart John Bull, who, by the bye, was, I believe, to be *strangled if he at all stood in the way of your modern Hercules*. John Bull was victorious, and the delegates left the meeting greatly chargrined. All this is fairly deducible from Dr. Cox's letter to the *Evangelist*. This was the beginning of sorrows to them. Next came the Alliance, and this was the arena to try Englishmen as well as Americans. Long ere you will receive this you will have read the proceedings of that assembly. Members of that Alliance have striven to justify the course which they pursued in reference to American Slavery; but they have only made "confusion worse confounded." They have, as a body, proved faithless to the Anti-Slavery standard. It is folly to attempt to justify their cowardice, not to say treachery. There is but one honest course open for them; it is to repent of their want of fidelity, and again rally around it. It is to be hoped that they will pursue this course. The letter of Dr. Cox (who has hitherto been caressed with unwonted fondness as a maligned man) will contribute to this end. People, unless smitten with opthalmia, must see that they have been embracing a viper. Is that too strong a term? Look at his letter. How full of venom and vituperation! Too strong? Is it possible that such a man can be a Christian, and move heaven and earth to "exorcise" the Anti-Slavery spirit from the British isles. Away with such a man; he pollutes our soil. He a Christian! When the greatest opportunity that Providence ever afforded for branding the foulest, blackest, deadliest foe of the human race, with characters deep as hell, and handing it over to the execrations of all mankind, he, who should have been in the van as living upon a slave-polluted soil, under a slaveholding Constitution, surrounded by a slave-trading—slave-whipping—slave-brutalizing people—he who had seen the monster in his den, and knew its hellish lineaments and devilish paraphernalia, when such a man went out of his way to exclude the subject from the presence of professing Christians, and make them believe that it was wholly irrelevant to the subject of their alliance, when such a man is thrust upon us as a follower of Christ, we scorn the imposition, and tell those who sent him, that they have practised "a delusion, a mockery, and snare."

The Alliance, however, has left no witness against him or his confederates, or against the infernal system, for whose upholders he apologizes. Mark that! What is the consequence? Why, their alliance is shivered; the ship has gone to pieces. They will tell you it was never formed; that the delegates only met as a *conference*. This, however, is only an after thought. Up to the period of the introduction of the question of Slavery, they were an "Evangelical Alliance;" there was nothing hypothetical about it. It was not until afterwards that it was discovered "not to be formed." The great army is now broken up into smaller armies of observation, and the objects which claim their vigilance are by a singular anomaly each other. They are not to watch the course of bloody superstition, nor the movements of the fell fiend, Slavery, but the possible convolutions, twistings, and sinuosities of each other. Oh! is it come to this. An alliance which was to be based upon love, to be drawn by the cords of love, and impelled onward by love, is it possible that it has assumed the position of the Inquisition, and started a system of Christian espionage. You will surely be asking if there are no exceptions amongst so many. I am happy to say there are. Some nobly protested in the face of opposition and contempt. Some have come out from the Alliance. Others who never entered it are lifting their voice against it as traitorous to the cause of Christ. But there are two or three who are taking the lead in a great national movement against the unprotesting confederation; who are testing public sentiment, and eliciting public feeling, of whom it is impossible to speak without emotions of gratitude. Those men, when all England seemed to be in the wake of the Alliance, boldly denounced it as an unholy and mischievous body. They did it in faith; conscious of the righteousness of their cause, they cast themselves fearlessly upon the waves of public opinion. That opinion has nobly sustained them. Listening thousands in every city and town where they lift up their voices respond to their sentiments, and record their votes in favour of the slave, and against the slaveholder and the Evangelical Alliance. They are men of integrity; their testimony is uncompromising. They set their faces like flints against everything which sanctions the accursed thing. But yesterday, and the Alliance might have stood against the world; it might have swept away all opposition by the breath of its mouth. Now, in an assembly of 5,000 people, (freely and voluntarily convened,) not so much as a seconder to an amendment designed to shield the Alliance can be found.

The last great meeting which was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, will be a memorable one in my reminiscences, and in those of thousands of others. Bear in mind, if you please, that in this very Hall, but two or three weeks before, there had been a grand demonstration of the Alliance; that the meeting of the Anti-Slavery League had been announced only two or, at most, three days before; that the whole day and evening were miserably wet; that nearly all the ministers in Manchester were pledged to the Alliance; that the Hall is half as large again as Exeter Hall, and that in spite of the absence of nearly all the ministers of the borough, as well as those who were influenced by their example, this second areopagus was nearly full, and you may then form some estimate of the prodigious interest excited by this question. After a few introductory remarks from George Thompson, Henry C. Wright addressed the meeting in a speech, every sentence of which fell like a hammer upon the "peculiar institution;" his words were weighty, truthful, and easily remembered. His facts are all potent; as genuine as the coin that comes fresh from the mint. Henry C. Wright, previously well known in Manchester, cannot now be forgotten. He was followed by Mr. Prentice, a highly respectable and talented editor of a local paper, and otherwise well known, who endeavoured to shield the Alliance by assuming that the members had been cheated by two or three crafty Americans. George Thompson volunteered to storm and demolish this redoubt. He ground it to powder and scattered *it* to the winds. I have nothing further to say of him except that among the people of Manchester, and indeed nearly everywhere else (especially it Scotland) he is the most popular man of the day. Then came William Lloyd Garrison, the great transatlantic reformer. The people received him in the most enthusiastic manner. He spoke, and so much calmness and dignity pervaded the whole of his address, and, what is of higher moment, such an utter fearlessness of man and love of truth manifested itself, that the people wondered not at the number and malignity of his foes. He "who spake as never man spake," excited enmity more by the dignity and pungency of his rebukes, than by the use of brilliant and overpowering rhetoric. Wm. Garrison's countenance bespeaks your confidence. He is, and ever must be whilst he wears such an expression, a welcome guest to the heart of every honest man. Long may God spare his valuable life, long enough, if it be his will, to see the consummation of his wishes in the overthrow of the abomination of his country. And last not least came Frederick Douglass. The meeting commenced at seven o'clock; it was now eleven. But there sat a waiting, willing audience. Mr. Prentice's amendment wanted a seconder. Frederick spoke it into disrepute. At any other time such an amendment in the shape of a substantive resolution would have been carried unanimously. But now it yielded to the overpowering opposition of Frederick Douglass. The Alliance had not recorded any protest against Slavery; therefore it must be condemned. That was the universal sentiment; and, hence, when the resolution was put it was adopted with but two dissentients. The meeting did not break up until 12 o'clock. Other meetings have been held since, alike in spirit and results. The meeting at Newcastle, on Friday, was one of the most enthusiastic ever held in that town. So the work goes on. These are some of the fruits of dear Garrison's visit.

Yours, in a righteous cause,

R. SMITH,

Secretary to the League.

This Week's Paper.

Fourth Page.—*Poetry*: How they brought the good News from Ghent to Aix. *Miscellany*: Memoir of Wm. Lloyd Garrison; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

First Page.—*Selections*: Decision of Judge Edmonds in the Matter of George Kirk, the Fugitive Slave; Letter from New-York to the Savannah Republican; The Slave Case; Extract from London Inquirer; Another Petition for Freedom—Justice again Triumphant; Letter from James N. Buffum—Interview with Thomas Clarkson; The Slave Case in New-York; A Freeman in Bondage; Liberty Party and its Candidates.

Second Page.—American Slavery and the Evangelical Alliance. *Communications*: Coloured Seamen—Their Character and Condition; Letter from Wm. W. Brown.

Married.

In New Haven, by Rev. Mr. Cleveland, Rev. Dr. Woods, of Andover, Mass. to Mrs. Lucia Ives, of New Haven.

In Boston, by Rev. I. F. Clarke, Mr. David Goddard to Mary Caroline, daughter of the late William Goddard, Esq.

In Boston, Frederick A. Sumner, M. D. to Miss Sarah W. McFarland.

In Boston, on the 29th ultimo, by Right Rev. Bishop Eastburn, Ivers J. Austin, Esq. to Miss Elizabeth T. Amory, only daughter of Col. Thomas C. Amory.

In this city, on Tuesday, 27th ultimo, by the Rev. Dr. Whitehouse, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Jr. to Julia Webster, daughter of Samuel Jaudon, Esq.

Died.

At Haddonfield, N. J. on the 1st of 11th mo. Thomas Chalkley, son of the late Brittain White, of Shrewsbury, N. J.

In Salem, Mass. Nov. 5, Hon. Dudley L. Pickman, aged 67.

In Roxbury, Nov. 3, Isaac P. Townsend Esq. aged 62.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Later From Europe.

The Britannia arrived at Boston on Saturday last, seventeen and a half days from Liverpool. She brought dates to the 20th ultimo. The commercial news is important. Grain and flour are still on the rise. The advance in wheat since the last arrival, averages 5s. per. quarter, Indian corn, 2s. Cotton has advanced full three eighths of a penny per pound.

The state of Ireland, says the European Times, continues to be most distressing—alarming in the extreme. The famine spreads; disease, the attendant of scarcity, stalks abroad through all parts of the island, and the suffering peasantry, goaded on by despair, have shown symptoms of rebellion and outrage, hoping thereby to attain an effectual relief for all their wants and privations.

The marriage of the Duke de Monpensier and the Infanta of Spain, was consummated on the 10th ultimo. Louis Phillippe, by an ordinance of the 6th instant, has pardoned upward of one hundred prisoners on the occasion. The British Government protested against the marriage.

The people of Paris are suffering from a want of bread. Some serious riots have occurred, and which were only suppressed by the military.

A revolution broke out in Geneva, on the 3d of October, in which the movement party were successful, and a new provisional government organized. The revolution was caused by the refusal of the Council of State to vote for the unconditional dissolution of the league in the Catholic cantons.

General Items.

A Kidnapping Case.—The "*News*" of yesterday contained the proceedings of a meeting held in the Old Court House, on Thursday evening, to consider a recent case of kidnapping at Fallston, Beaver county. Thomas M. Carothers was called to the chair. Samuel Ferguson and J. H. Young were chosen Vice Presidents. John Scott and R. C. Fleeson appointed Secretaries. Mr. H. H. Van Amringe stated the case which the meeting had been called to consider. Two men from Kentucky had rented a tavern-stand at Fallston, Beaver county, and having expressed a desire to procure two coloured boys to perform little services about the house, a widowed coloured woman residing in or near Hookstown, hired to them two of her children—the youngest four, and the eldest seven years old. Soon after, the scoundrels absconded, taking with them the two children, as has been ascertained, for the purpose of selling them into Slavery. The affair produced great excitement in Fallstown, and a reward of $100 was offered there, but the scoundrels have not yet been traced.—*Pittsburgh Gazette*, 31st ult.

A Novel Plea.—A murderer was acquitted in Illinois, a short time since—the jury having probably sanctioned the doctrines of the counsel, that there were some individuals in every community who *ought to be killed*, and that the unfortunate man who had been murdered belonged to that class.—*Norfolk County American.*

The Rev. Amos A. Phelps embarked a few days since for Port au Prince. He expects to spend the coming winter in the West Indies, for the benefit of his impaired health. His correspondence from the various places he may visit, we trust will add interest to our columns.—*Evangelist*.

Prof. Mitchell, of the Cincinnati Observatory, has seen the new planet La Verrier. His observations made its diameter forty-six thousand miles, admitting its distance to be twice that of Herschel. This is the second planet discovered within the present year.

Case of Freeman.—The motion for a new trial on bill of exceptions in the case of Freeman, the negro who killed the Van Nest family, came on upon Saturday, and occupied the Supreme Court the whole of yesterday. Mr. Wright concluded his argument for the motion yesterday at noon, and was followed on the other side by L. Sherwood, Esq. District Attorney of Cayuga. The Attorney General, Hon. John Van Buren, succeeded Mr. Sherwood, and Hon. William H. Seward will close.—*Rochester Daily American, Nov.* 3.

Rev. Geo. W. Cheever, D. D. has withdrawn from the editorial chair of the New-York Evangelist, on account of his increasing cares and responsibilities, as pastor of the church with which he has lately become connected.

A Voice from the Interior.—The Rochester Democrat (Whig) thus alludes to the slave case that has caused so much excitement here:

What a pitiful business is this for Northern freemen, and what an accursed system is that which makes the soil of liberty the hunting-ground of the oppressed and down-trodden! A poor wretch, tired of chains and servitude, seeks an asylum among a people who are constantly boasting of their freedom. He is declared free; but before he had time to take shelter, the blood-hounds are again at his heels. It may be *law* to thus drag a wretch from freedom, but is it justice? If it is, it is such justice as none but demons could approve. We hope the poor boy has baffled his pursuers.

The war with Mexico is a capital means of using up old steamers. They are sold to the Government at exorbitant prices—sent out to the Gulph of Mexico and *lost*. Others are then required to take their places.

The prevailing ignorance, on the part of intelligent Englishmen, of American Geography, is forcibly illustrated by a passage in one of John Foster's letters, which have recently been published by Wiley & Putnam, and which form two very substantial and instructing volumes. Foster speaks of having received from Prof. Elton, of Rhode Island, a *poem* by Judge Durfee, "*of that Island*," entitled "What Cheer." Yet Foster was one of the most intelligent persons in Great Britain.

Black Missionary.—The Presbyterian Synod of Alabama and Mississippi have purchased the freedom of a negro man named Ellis, in Green county, Ala. for the purpose of sending him as a missionary to Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from October 19, to November 7, 1846.

Calvin Brainard, Rochester, N Y	$1 00
Alexander H. Freeman, Orange, N J	1 00
Caroline L. Parsons, Boston, Mass	2 00
Lucy L. Andrews, Perry, N Y	3 00
Jeremiah Harvey, Boston, Mass	1 00
M. E. Howland, Color'd Orphan Asylum, NY	1 00
J. Harvey Le Sure, Upton, Mass	1 00
Abby R. Gage, Lancaster, "	1 00
O. W. Hastings, " "	1 00
J. S. Treat, Voluntown, Ct.	1 00
Isaac Griffin, Quaker Springs, N Y	1 00
Phebe H. Jones, Troy, "	1 00
James Mars, New-York,	25
S. H. Brown, Ledyard, "	1 00
Leonard Patterson, Kings' Ferry, N Y	1 00
Lewis Ferris, Five Corners, N Y	1 00
Allen Palmer, "	1 00
John Corwin, "	1 00
Edward Palmer, 2d "	1 00
John C. Blakely, Lansingville, N Y	1 00
John Prior, Poplar Ridge, "	1 00
Moses D. Decker, Genoa, "	1 00
David H. Brink, Aurora, "	1 00
James Carley, " "	1 00
Mercy Smith, Manchester, "	1 00
Edward Piper, Port Gibson, "	1 00
Jonathan Metcalf, Seneca Falls, "	1 00
W. S. Winegar, South Butler, "	1 00
Searles & Craw, " "	1 00
Ezra Welch, " "	1 00
Thomas West, " "	1 00
Benjamin Hall, " "	1 00
Mortimer Clapp, " "	1 00
Elisha Taylor, jr. " "	1 00
Austin Roe, North Butler, "	1 00
Enos Soule, Savannah, "	1 00
Edward P. Willard, Cayuga Bridge, N Y	1 00
E. H. Waldo, " "	1 00
Isaac Shaw, " "	1 00
Peter Yawger, Union Springs, "	1 00
Charles Treadwell, " "	1 00
W. W. Hathaway, " "	1 00
R. B. Howland, " "	1 00
R. M. C. Capron, Auburn, "	1 00
J. B. Lobdell, Perry, "	1 00
John Vesey, jr. Covington Centre, "	1 00
L. B. Sturtivant, " "	50
A. Sturtivant, " "	50
R. W. Main, Wyoming, "	1 00
Moses S. Osgood, Warsaw, "	1 00
N. Bronson, " "	1 00
L. L. Johnson & E. E. Granger, Weathersfield Springs, N Y	1 00
Amelia Bradbury, Syracuse, N Y	1 00
Elisha Allis, "	1 00
George Saul, "	1 00
Charles F. Williston, "	1 00
George Barnes, "	1 00
Wm. L. Turney, "	1 00
Samuel J. May, "	1 00
Rev. Henry Emmons, Vernon, N Y	1 00
Dudley Hall, Geneva, "	1 00
Anna Gay, Godfrey, Ill	1 00
Wm. Powers, Attica Centre, N Y	1 00
Daniel Butler, West Middlebury, N Y	1 00
G. H. Dunham, Weathersfield Springs, N Y	1 00
Elias Bothwick, Perry Centre, "	1 00
Samuel Waldo, " "	1 00
John Card, Gainesville, "	1 00
J. W. Johnson, Mt. Morris, "	3 00
Frederick Hoover, Richmond, Ia.	1 00
Jane Morrow, "	1 00
Robert Brown, New-York,	5 00
Rev. Sumner Lincoln, Jamaica, Vt	1 25
W. R. Bliss, Worcester, Mass	1 00
Allen Rowe, jr. Stoneham, "	1 00
Patten Davis, East Bethel, Vt	1 00
Catharine B. Norton, Abington, Mass	1 00
Miles H. McGehee, Como, Miss	5 00
E. C. Mower, Rushville, N Y	2 00
H. G. Whitten, "	4 50
E. B. Russell, Lancaster, W T	1 00
Rev. Thomas Brown, Borodino, N Y	1 00
Hinksman Thorn, "	1 00
Charles Calkins, "	1 00
Warren Dolittle, "	1 00
Wm. Thompson, "	1 00
Alfred Hinman, "	1 00
Jeremiah Spalding, Navarino, N Y	1 00
Helen Spalding, Syracuse, "	1 00
Wm. T. Codding, Bristol Centre, N Y	1 00
A. L. Peet, Victor, "	1 00
	——107 00

DONATIONS.

Slocum Howland, Sherwood Corners, N Y	5 00
Elihu Slocum, King's Ferry, "	5 00
Asa Croker, " "	1 00
R. P. Hunt, Waterloo, "	10 00
A. Schooley, " "	2 00
A friend, " "	50
	—— 23.50
Total Amount,	$130.50

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

The following donations should have been acknowledged on the 10th of September:

Collections at Geneva,	2 25
" Orleans,	73
" Penn Yan,	3 25
" Canandaigua,	3 70
Edward M. Davis, in full for pledge,	100 00

NOTICES.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

William W. Brown, an American slave, whose labours have been so successful in Western New-York, will hold Anti-Slavery meetings at the following places:

WAYNE COUNTY.

Fairville, Thursday, November 12,
Clyde, Friday and Saturday, November, 13 & 14,
Savannah, Sunday, " 15,

CAYUGA COUNTY.

Victory, Monday, November 16,
Sterling, Tuesday, " 17,
Little Sodus, Wednesday, November, 18,

OSWEGO COUNTY—AWAKE!!!

Hannibal, Thursday, November, 19,
Granby, Friday, " 20,
Fulton, Saturday, " 21,
Volney, Sunday, " 22,
Constantia, Monday, " 23,
Amboy, Tuesday, " 24,
Williamstown, Thursday, " 26,
Sand Bank, Friday, " 27,
Washington, Saturday and Sunday, November 28 & 29,
Pulaski, Monday, Nov. 30, & Tuesday, December 1,
Plattsville, Wednesday, December 2,
Mexico, Thursday, " 3,
New Haven, Friday, " 4,
Oswego, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, Dec. 5, 6, & 7.

The meetings will commence at 6 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

J. C. HATHAWAY, Gen. Agt.

WESTERN NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Rochester, commencing on Monday, December 28th, at two o'clock, P. M. At this meeting the principles and measures of the Society will be fully discussed, and, as usual, an opportunity given to those who may differ from us, to express that difference in the fullest and freest manner.

It is important that the friends of the slave should come up in large numbers. The times demand uncompromising, decisive, and energetic action. Within the short space of forty years, the slave population of our country, (notwithstanding the large numbers whose lives have been cut short by this murderous system,) has increased from about one million to more than three millions, and the slave-power has increased in a still more fearful ratio. The American Union is but a name, the United States Constitution, but a form—the one has lost its vitality, the other its *power*, for *good*. The only union which is left for freedom or *freemen*, is a union with the halter—the stake—the branding-iron, and the dungeon; and the Constitution has become a pliant instrument in the hands of oppressors to facilitate their nefarious purposes, and accomplish their diabolical designs. Whoever offers a libation upon the altar of the one, or yields his allegiance to the other, does homage to tyranny and gives strength to despotism.

Charles Lenox Remond, of Massachusetts, William W. Brown, of Farmington, and other distinguished speakers, will be present.

J. C. HATHAWAY, President.

Sarah A. Burtiss, Secretary.

MEETING OF THE CLARKSON ASSOCIATION.

A stated meeting of the Clarkson Association will be held at Doe Run Meeting-house, on Seventh day, the 21st of the 11th month, 1845, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

SIMMONS COATES, Rec. Sec.

☞ THE LIBERTY BELL, 1847. ☜

Friends of the cause intending to write for it this year, are informed that the copy ought now to be in the printer's hands, to ensure its seasonable publication.

It is in contemplation to make the forthcoming number more beautiful and valuable than any former one, and to issue a larger edition.

Contributions of prose or poetry, of money, of paper, and of labour, are all most welcome. No writer, editor, or collector, has ever consented to be remunerated—as it is desirable that as much as possible of the expense attending the publication should be a gift to the cause, that the edition may be the larger, and the circulation and avails to the cause the greater.

The present number will contain a valuable engraving of Francis Jackson, which a friend of the cause who is an artist has generously volunteered to execute. This good and cheering example ought to be imitated.

Donations and contributions should be addressed to M. W. Chapman.

E. D. HUDSON AGAIN IN THE FIELD.

The friends of the slave in the different localities are informed that our efficient friend and fellow-labourer, E. D. Hudson, proposes to hold meetings at the following places; and they are requested to make all necessary arrangements for the meetings, and extend to him their cordial and hearty co-operation and aid, particularly in procuring subscribers to the National Anti-Slavery Standard, which is at the present time, beyond a doubt, the most economical instrumentality in accelerating the day of emancipation.

Hillsdale, Columbia county, Wednesday,	November	4
Albany, Friday,	"	6
Amsterdam, Saturday,	"	7
Johnstown, Sunday and Monday,	"	8 & 9
St. Johnsville, Monday and Tuesday,	"	9 & 10
Oppenheim, Wednesday,	"	11
Little Falls, Thursday,	"	12
Herkimer, Friday,	"	13
Utica, Saturday,	"	14
Marcy, Sunday,	"	15
Rome, Monday,	"	16
Verona Centre, Tuesday,	"	17
Oneida Castle, Wednesday and Thursday,	"	18 & 19
Canastota, Friday,	"	20
Syracuse, Saturday and Sunday,	"	21 & 22

J. C. HATHAWAY, Gen. Ag't.

CIRCULAR—CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the "New-York State Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty," was held on Wednesday, the 14th inst.

The Committee would respectfully recommend to the friends of the cause throughout the State:

1. That a public meeting for the discussion of the subject be held on Friday evening, the 20th of November next, in every city and town, and a society organized, where it is practicable.

2. That the subject be introduced for discussion into the various debating societies of our towns and villages.

3. That the editors of the different newspapers in the State be requested to open their columns to the discussion of the subject.

4. That petitions to the Legislature be prepared and sent in at as early a period of the session as possible.

5. That "Burleigh's Thoughts on the Death Penalty," and other kindred works, be extensively circulated.

6. That lectures on the subject be given at stated periods during the coming winter, and that the aid of clergymen and public speakers generally be invoked in this measure.

WESTERN NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

At Rochester, on Christmas Week, 1846.

"Blessed ones! whom none on earth
Dare to wrench from home and hearth;
Ye whose hearts are sheltered well
By affection's holy spell,
Oh, forget not those, for whom
Life is naught but changeless gloom,
O'er whose days of cheerless sorrow,
Hope may paint no brighter morrow."

The time has passed by, to undertake to set forth the propriety and usefulness of Anti-Slavery Fairs, as an instrumentality in forwarding the cause in which we are engaged. Their efficacy and efficiency have been fully tried, and amply demonstrated. The benefits reflected upon those engaged in them, have been found to be, not among the least useful results. The sewing circle, the social meeting, the free exchange of thought, the awakening of interest, all tend to good.

It is found that we can only get good by doing good—that we can only *truly* receive by giving, and that "to withhold more than is meet tendeth to poverty." We therefore, in behalf of the slave, make an appeal for aid to those who love Freedom, and hate Slavery,—who help to Liberty and despise oppression,—with a confident assurance, that to those who appreciate the spirit and genius of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, the appeal will not be in vain.

OBJECTS OF THE FAIR.

The products of the Fair will be expended under the direction of the Board of Managers, in defraying the expenses of the Anti-Slavery agents, and in sustaining the National Anti-Slavery Standard. Any persons making contributions or donations, can have the amount expended in either specific manner which they may direct.

A commodious Hall will be procured, and the Fair opened on Christmas Eve, and continued until New Year's day. Addresses will be delivered through the week by the most eloquent friends of Freedom, who can be obtained. An Anti-Slavery Choir will be in attendance, to sing, in behalf of Liberty, songs appropriate to the cause and occasion.

In the name, then, of outraged humanity, imbruted and trampled upon,—in the name of prostrate manhood, scourged and bleeding,—in the name of God-like intellect, bedimmed and clouded,—in the name of anguished mothers, weeping and wailing,—in the name of little children, bound and fettered, sold and bartered, we ask every one to do something. The farmer can surely find something among his various productions to offer upon the altar, if his heart is in the work. All the productions of the dairy, poultry, and all the varieties of fruit, grain, and vegetables, will be needed. We ask the miller for his flour, the baker for aid in baking cake and crackers, and the mechanics for the products of their skill, in the shape of such neat, tasteful, and useful articles as their various handicrafts can furnish. The merchant for staple and fancy stuffs, such as we can work up into useful and attractive articles, for keepsakes, and friendly offerings, and while we are labouring, we remember that every stitch we take is a stitch in the shroud of Slavery, and that will make the labour light.

Don't let those who have nothing but money to give feel slighted, for that will not be refused, but will be more than doubled by the willing hand of industry.

Now, friends, we ask each and every one of you, by the regard you have for the happiness of your own hearth-stones, by the religion which you profess, and the attributes of Him whom you worship, to become fellow-labourers with us in this holy cause.

Sarah R. Doty, Farmington.
Phebe Hathaway, "
Margaret Pryor, Waterloo.
Mary Ann McClintock, "
Sarah E. Thayer, Poplar Ridge, Venice.
Sarah Jacobs, "
Eliza M. Cooper, Williamson.
Sarah D. Fish, Sodus.
Sylvia Mead, Lockport.
Laura Marry, Darien.
Amy Post, Rochester.
Sarah A. Burtis, "
Abigail Bush, "
Elizabeth G. Curtis, "

CIRCULAR.

Again we invite the co-operation of the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, in our preparations, already commenced, for the Fair of 1846. We trust that our friends in town and country, will immediately begin, if they have not already done so, to make arrangements for working circles, &c. and enlist as many warm hearts and efficient hands as can be found in their respective neighbourhoods. Our next Fair is to be held in a much larger Hall, than we have heretofore occupied, and it is our intention that it shall be in every respect greatly superior to former ones. To accomplish this, we must, *each* and *all*, be more diligent, more active in invention and execution, than heretofore. The cause demands new efforts, and whose heart does not respond to the call? Let each of us commence this work with a determination that the Fair *shall* be what we wish to make it. Let no suggestion be lost, let no inventive thought be rejected, which can be profitably applied in any department of the labor. Much depends on the *variety* of the collection, and the skill and taste of all may here find ample room for profitable exercise. And the usual articles of needlework will be in demand, and a much larger supply than heretofore of the products of the garden, the dairy, and the farm. We wish to fill one table with specimens of Natural History in every variety, and another with pot flowers. Will the friends in the country prepare these for the occasion? Let all who have beautiful flowers of any kind, plant cuttings from them now, and, if properly trained, they will probably be ready for us in December next.

Your past experience and observation, dear friends, diminishes the necessity of suggestions from us. What we would most urgently press upon you is, that the work of preparation be commenced *immediately*, and continued diligently. We shall be glad to communicate with any circle or individual, who may wish for consultation with us respecting the Fair, and shall be happy to receive friendly suggestion from any quarter.

Sarah Pugh,	*Emma Parker*,
Theresa Hallowell,	*Gertrude K. Burleigh*,
Sarah L. Child,	*Hannah L. Stickney*,
Anna M. Hopper,	*Mary T. Stickney*,
Margaret Griscom,	*Emily Winslow*,
Sarah A. McKim,	*Maria Davis*,
Amy Matilda Cassey,	*Harriet D. Purvis*,
Paulina Wright,	*Sarah L. Purvis*,
Janette Jackson,	*Margaret Jones*,
Martha Carman,	*Mary Grew*,
E. Carman,	*Margaretta Forten*,
Clementine Green,	*Mary Shaw*,
Huldah Justice,	*Hester Reckless*,
Eliza J. Bias,	*Esther Hogeland*,
	Committee of Arrangements.

NOTICE TO COLORED TRAVELLERS.

J. P. COBURN informs his friends and acquaintances that he can accommodate them with board and lodging on reasonable terms. His house is situated on the corner of

Southac & Butolph Streets, Boston,

and is one of the most commodious and pleasant situations in the west part of the city, and he will spare no pains to make their situation comfortable, as he has everything convenient for that purpose.

October 8, 1846.—3m

Poetry.

"How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix."—(16—)

BY ROBERT BROWNING.

I.

I sprang to the stirrup, and Joris, and He;
I galloped, Dirck galloped, we galloped all three;
"Good speed!" cried the watch, as the gate-bolts undrew;
"Speed!" echoed the wall to us galloping through;
Behind shut the postern, the lights sank to rest,
And into the midnight we galloped abreast.

II.

Not a word to each other; we kept the great pace
Neck by neck, stride for stride, never changing our place;
I turned in my saddle, and made its girths tight,
Then shortened each stirrup, and set the pique right,
Rebuckled the cheek-strap, chained slacker the bit,
Nor galloped less steadily Roland a whit.

III.

'Twas moonset at starting; but while we drew near
Lokeren, the cocks crew and twilight dawned clear;
At Boom, a great yellow star came out to see;
At Düffeld, 'twas morning as plain as could be;
And from Mecheln church-steeple we heard the half-chime,
So Joris broke silence with, "Yet there is time!"

IV.

At Aerschot, up leaped of a sudden the sun,
And against him the cattle stood black every one,
To stare through the mist at us galloping past,
And I saw my stout galloper Roland at last,
With resolute shoulders, each butting away,
The haze as some bluff river headland its spray,

V.

And his low head and crest, just one sharp ear bent back
For my voice, and the other pricked out on his track;
And one eye's black intelligence,—ever that glance
O'er its white edge at me, his own master askance!
And the thick heavy spume-flakes which aye and anon
His fierce lips shook upwards in galloping on.

VI.

By Hasselt, Dirck groaned; and Joris, "stay spur!
Your Roos galloped bravely, the fault's not in her;
We'll *remember* at Aix"—for one heard the quick wheeze
Of her chest, saw the stretched neck and staggering knees,
And sunk tail, and horrible heave of the flank,
As down on her haunches she shuddered and sank.

VII.

So left were we galloping, Joris and I,
Past Looz and past Tongres, no cloud in the sky;
The broad sun above laughed a pitiless laugh,
'Neath our feet broke the brittle bright stubble like chaff;
Till over by Dalhem a dome-spire sprang white,
And "gallop," gasped Joris, "for Aix is in sight!"

VIII.

"How they'll greet us"—and all in a moment his roan
Rolled neck and croup over, lay dead as a stone;
And there was my Roland to bear the whole weight
Of the news which alone could save Aix from her fate,
With his nostrils like pits-full of blood to the brim,
And with circles of red for his eye-sockets rim.

IX.

Then I cast loose my buff-coat, each holster let fall,
Shook off both my jack-boots, let go belt and all,
Stood up in the stirrup, leaned, patted his ear,
Called my Roland his pet name, my horse without peer;
Clapped my hands, laughed and sang, any noise bad or good,
Till at length into Aix Roland galloped and stood.

X.

And all I remember is, friends flocking round,
As I sate with his head 'twixt my knees on the ground,
And no voice but was praising this Roland of mine,
As I poured down his throat our last measure of wine,
Which (the burgesses voted by common consent)
Was no more than his due who brought good news from Ghent.

Miscellany.

From the People's Journal.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BY MARY HOWITT.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, about thirty miles from Boston, December 10, 1805. His maternal grand-parents were English emigrants, of the name of Lloyd, residents in Lower Canada. His father was Abijah Garrison, the captain of a vessel which traded to the West Indies; he was a man of excellent abilities; a good navigator, and fine poet. All his noble qualities, however, natural and acquired, were negatived by an unfortunate passion for liquor, which ruined all his prospects in life, caused him to abscond from his family while his children were quite young, leaving them in a state of utter destitution. The mother thus deserted, and left to struggle with adversity, was one of God's noblest creatures. Her beauty of person was remarkable, and accordant with her character of mind. She was of a tall, majestic figure, singularly graceful in deportment and carriage; her features were fine, and expressive of a high intellectual character; and her hair so luxuriant and rich, that when she unbound it, like that of Godiva of old, it fell around her like a veil. The outward being, however, was but a faint image of the angelic nature within; she was one of those who inspire at once love and reverence; she took high views of life and its duties; and, consequently, when adversity came upon her as an armed man, she was not overcome. Life had lost its sun-shine, but not its worth; and, for her own and her children's sake, she combated nobly with poverty and sorrow. Her influence on her children, more especially on her son William, was very great; he venerated her while yet a child; not a word or a precept of her's was ever lost—his young heart treasured up all—unknowing that these in after life should become his great principles of action. To illustrate the conscious and firm character of this admirable woman, we must be permitted to give an anecdote of her whilst yet young. Her parents were of the Episcopal Church, and among the most bigoted of that body. In those days the Baptists were a despised people, and it was reckoned vulgar to be of their community. One day, however, it was made known through the neighbourhood where she lived, that one of these despised sectaries would preach in a barn, and a party of gay young people, one of whom was the lovely and gay Fanny Lloyd, agreed for a frolic to go and hear him. Of those who went to scoff, one remained to pray; this was Fanny Lloyd. Her soul was deeply touched by the meek and holy spirit of the preacher; she wept much during the sermon, and when it was over, the preacher spake kindly to her. From that day a change came over her mind; she would no longer despise and ridicule the Baptists; and before long, announced to her astonished and indignant parents that she found it necessary for the peace of her soul, to become publicly one of that despised body. Nothing could equal the exasperation which followed this avowal. They threatened that if she allowed herself to be baptized, they would turn her out of doors. It was not a matter of choice, but of stern duty with her; she meekly expostulated—she besought them with tears to hear her reasons, but in vain. She could not, however, resist that which she believed to be her duty to God; she was baptized, and had no longer a home under her parents' roof. She then took refuge with an uncle, with whom she resided several years. This early persecution only strengthened her religious opinions; and she remained through life a zealous advocate of those peculiar views for which she had suffered so much.

At the time of her husband's desertion, Mrs. Garrison was left with five children, two of whom died soon afterwards. When her son William was about seven, she found it necessary to remove from Newburyport to Lynn. She was in very low circumstances and having taken upon herself the profession of a sick-nurse, was induced to remove to Lynn, in the hope of better success in her calling. She took with her her eldest son James, a boy of extraordinary promise—wonderfully gifted like herself, and, like her, remarkable for his handsome person. James was her favourite child, and she looked forward to his being the stay and comfort of her declining years. Her son William, and her only remaining daughter, then quite young, she left at Newburyport, both of them under the care of good people of the Baptist persuasion. William was placed with one of the most excellent of men, although he was poor, and had no better means of gaining a livelihood than by setting the edges of saws, and splitting wood for fuel. This good man was a deacon in his church, and by name, Ezekiel Bartlett. The boy was in the place of son to him; and both he and his wife, who had the utmost veneration for his mother, assumed at once the paternal character towards him. Now and then his own mother came over to see him and his sister; and those visits were joyful holidays of the heart to all parties. If the poor can afford fewer indulgences than the rich, there is perhaps all the greater zest and intensity about that few which may make the balance somewhat even. So was it in the case of these good but poor people.

It was fortunate for the children that in the houses of their protectors they received sound religious and moral instruction; and though in after life, William found many an early-taught dogma to reject, and some sectarian shackles to shake off, yet the good teaching of those years has given a tone to the whole life of the man.

He remained with the kind-hearted deacon until he was eleven, when his mother took him to live with her at Lynn. He had, however, during these years, been to school, had learned to read and write, and in the intervals of learning had helped the good old man to split wood for the inhabitants of the town. During the last six months of his abode here he was put to a grammar school, which appeared to him a magnificent school, and where he was enabled to learn something of arithmetic, grammar, and geography. It is astonishing, however, how little scholastic knowledge is needful for the greatest and best men of the world, and for those who are the soundest benefactors of their race. Greek and Latin, however much they may improve the head, do but little for the heart. William Lloyd Garrison took no degrees in any university.

At eleven years old, to his sorrow, he left the grammar school, and removed to Lynn, to his mother. She had apprenticed her beloved son, James, to the trade of a shoemaker, in Boston; her second son, also, she put to the same business. He was extremely small of his age; so small, indeed, that his apron seemed bigger than himself, and the people laughed, and said he was no larger than a last. We will take this opportunity of saying something of the elder brother, the beauty of whose mind unhappily, was early dimmed. James, when he went to Boston, had the utmost aversion to ardent spirits: but being the youngest apprentice, was sent to fetch into the workshop the liquor for the men. He was laughed at, and subjected to persecution, because he would not drink; the trial, unfortunately, was too great for him; in a few years he drank with the best of them. One temptation led to another; and before his apprenticeship was completed, he ran away and entered the United States' navy, where he led a most irregular life. In the end, his conduct broke his mother's heart. Many a time has she said—"Nothing less than a cannon-ball could kill Fanny Lloyd;" but the misconduct of this beloved son did it. Poor James, even in his fall, had great pride of feeling, and always hoped the day would come when he should return home a reformed and altered man. He was naturally brave, and full of generous sentiments, and was fond of an adventurous life, which he hoped to enjoy on the seas. He enlisted after some time, in a British ship, engaged in the pursuit of pirates, in the West Indies; but such were the horrors practised on board, by inhuman floggings and other modes of punishment, that he and two others, deserted. They concealed themselves in the woods for some time, but were then taken and carried to the Havana, where they were sentenced to receive three hundred lashes each, to be given in sight of the whole fleet. His two companions died under the sentence; he survived, a spirit-crushed man. After he had been gone ten years, and when all supposed him dead, his brother William received a letter from him, written from a hospital, asking if he could hear to come and see him. William visited him. He now hoped to atone for the past; he was repentant, and full of tender affection. Misfortune, however, pursued him to the last, spite of all his better will; for, scarcely had he left the hospital, when he fell in with a gang of ruffians, who made him drunk, stripped him of all he had, and betrayed him again into the navy. The case was one of clear outrage and wrong; and his brother, through the help of some influential man, obtained his liberation; but body and soul were alike subdued, and in less than twelve months he died.

We now return to the little boy William, working at the shoemaking trade, which he very much disliked. His mother, soon after this, removed to Baltimore, in Maryland; and the poor lad grew more and more unhappy, homesick, as it were, pining for the society of his sister, and those dear, good people at Newburyport, from whom he was separated. This being the case, his mother, who had no other wish than the well-being and happiness of her children, consented to his return there. It was a joyful day to old deacon Bartlett and his wife, when he came back to them; he seemed doubly their own child. He made no secret of his dislike to the shoemaking business, so the deacon put him apprentice to a cabinet-maker, in the town of Haverhill, about fourteen miles from Newburyport. The boy, however, was hard to please; this trade suited him no better than shoemaking; he was very unhappy, and again grew so homesick that the dear, kind old man consented to humour him once more, and bring him back under his roof.

Again he was sent to school, and again he helped the deacon to split fire-wood. In the meantime the old man was thinking anxiously what trade must be found for this boy, who would neither be a shoemaker nor a cabinet-maker. Fortunately, he hit upon the printing business; *that*, perhaps, might suit him, if nothing else did; and, for the third time, he was put apprentice. There is a proverb which says that the third time pays for all: it was verified here. The boy at once was in his element—this was better even than the grammar school, which he had *mourned* so at leaving. He wanted nothing which the printing-house could not afford him. In October, 1818, at the age of thirteen, he was made perfectly happy, by finding himself the articled apprentice of Mr. Ephraim W. Allen, editor and proprietor of the *Newburyport Herald*. He was now in his element; he felt an inspiration about the business which seemed to call forth all the powers and energy of his soul; he found, also, through newspapers and journals from every part of the country, that information after which his mind was craving. He had always had, even when quite young, a perfectly ravenous appetite for knowledge of all kinds, especially such as represented itself in a narrative form. A book was at any time irresistible; and in his intervals of wood-cutting and running errands, he was always absorbed in the marvels of some romance or other of the Mrs. Radcliffe school. Now, however, a wider and much higher sphere of knowledge was opened to him, and he availed himself to the utmost of every means which the printing-house afforded for the improvement of his mind. Fortunately for him, Mr. Allen was a man capable of appreciating the character of his studious apprentice, who, at the same time that he seized every opportunity of gathering up information, was steady, industrious, and remarkably apt in the mechanical part of the business. William Garrison was a born printer; and so great is the pleasure he takes even now in the mere manual labour of printing, that, when at home, he devotes two days each week to setting the type for his *Liberator*. The very handling of type, he has been heard to say, is perfectly delightful to him.

The *Newburyport Herald* was a weekly paper, and it was his business to work both at the case and the press. No youth was ever happier than he was at that time. At the age of sixteen, he made his first essay in authorship, in the form of a communication to the paper. It was written in a disguised hand, and the circumstance was known only to himself. It was an humourous article on some subject of local interest, and was signed "An Old Bachelor;" and, though trifling in itself, was an event of deep interest to the young author, whose heart beat strongly when he saw the editor enter the office with the communication in his hand. Several gentlemen of the place happened at that moment to be in the office where he was at work, an object of little interest to them. The editor, who probably had already made himself acquainted with the communication, read it aloud to his friends: all commended it highly, and it was immediately handed to the boy for him to set up. This was excellent; he needed no more encouragement—a perfect *cacoethes scribendi* seized upon him. Week after week, communications flowed in from the now highly-respected A. O. B. (the initials of his first *nom de guerre*); and under this signature, he wrote for some years, receiving from the editor himself, letters through the newspaper, complimenting him upon his abilities, and requesting "a continuance of favours." No one suspected the printer's hard-working apprentice to be the remarkable correspondent who wrote alike, poetry or prose, but principally political articles of a bold, uncompromising character, which were particularly acceptable in a town where party politics assumed a very violent tone. Even then, he was the great champion for liberty, wherever he saw it struggling against oppression. Wallace and Tell were the heroes of his ardent imagination; and he longed to signalize himself as they had done, in some great outbreak for freedom and mankind. So enthusiastic did he indeed become on the subject of national liberty, that every struggle for it, however remote, fired his very soul; and when the Greeks were combating for their liberty, he could hardly restrain himself from setting off and joining their armies. Indeed, such at this time were his views, that he seriously contemplated entering the Westpoint Academy, the great military school of the United States; but, fortunately, he stayed by the printing-press, and prepared himself still more for the great and noble struggle for humanity, in which he was to become the heaven-appointed and heroic leader.

Whilst a mere printer's boy, he established a debating society among the apprentices, at which they assembled weekly, for the presentation of original articles, and for discussion and debate; all which has been greatly beneficial to him in his after career. This debating society was the means of inducing him to give up his meditated martial expeditions; for it was deeply interesting to him, and without his presence it must infallibly have gone to the ground.

For several years Mr. Allen never detected his unknown correspondent, and his apprentice gloried in his profound secret. It happened, however, that Mr. Allen retired from the editorship for a short time, in consequence of illness, and Mr. Cushing, at that time a barrister, took his place as editor *pro tem*. This gentleman has recently been minister to the Court of China, and is a man of splendid endowments, an eloquent orator, and member of Congress. During his editorship he detected the apprentice Garrison under the signature of A. O. B. but said not one word of his discovery until Mr. Allen's return, when, to the astonishment of all parties, he announced the "respected correspondent" and the industrious apprentice to be identical. Mr. Allen, instead of being annoyed at the trick that had been put up on him so long, at once acknowledged the talent of his young assistant, most kindly encouraged him in every way, and henceforth associated him in the editorship of the paper—being glad, like a wise man, to avail himself of the talent which was so near him; and such, indeed, was the confidence that this excellent man placed in him, that when he was but nineteen, during the absence of Mr. Allen for some time in Alabama, the editorship of the paper, and the entire management of the printing-office, was confided to his care. It was an honourable testimony to the young man's integrity and talent; and he vowed within himself to be worthy of the trust reposed in him. His powers seemed increased by the demand made upon them; he believed nothing beyond his attainment, and was inconceivably happy. At that time sleep seemed hardly requisite for him; he worked all day at the printing-office—not only attending to the editorship, but even taking part in the manual labour—and devoted the whole night to writing and study. His political models were Junius and Fisher Ames, one of the most beautiful and noblest minds of America, and one who died broken-hearted, because his country fell short of the celestial height to which he aspired for her. The character of this great and good man was the youth's admiration, as his essays were his models for composition. He wrote at this time, under the signature of Aristides, a series of Essays on National Affairs for the *Salem Gazette*, which were immediately copied into *Walsh's National Gazette*, the most distinguished literary and scientific paper of America, accompanied by highly eulogistic remarks. This was the greatest triumph the young writer had yet received; and, to enhance it still more, the authorship was attributed to the Hon. Timothy Pickering, one of the greatest minds of his country, and one who takes rank with the most distinguished revolutionary heroes and statesmen of his native land.

In December, 1825, having served upwards of seven years, his apprenticeship terminated, honourably to himself, and after having given the utmost satisfaction to his master. As might be expected, poor old deacon Bartlett had felt the greatest pride in his career; it was a supreme happiness to him that the first gentlemen of the town, and great politicians in the country, took notice of his young *protege*. Nor was it Ezekiel Bartlett alone who rejoiced in his well-being. Through his whole course his mother, the poor sick nurse of Baltimore, was his counsellor and friend. From his letters she was aware of the moral and intellectual advance of her son, and her spirit became his onward and upward companion. Like a guardian angel, she was ever with him; her letters were as talismans about his heart. The mother, at the distance of six hundred miles—the poor woman—the sick-nurse, whose offices of love had not, even for her, the luxury of free gifts—was forming the while the spirit of one of the noblest, purest, truest disciples who ever trod in the footsteps of Him who died for mankind. Blessed be such mothers, for they make the benefactors of the world!

A short time before young Garrison's term of apprenticeship expired, his mother, who had long spoken of her failing health, wrote, begging that she might yet once more see him in the flesh before she died; and his master kindly gave him permission to make this long journey. The mother and the son met; but what a change in the appearance of that mother! When he parted from her she was in her full strength and beauty—now he did not recognize her: sorrow for her unhappy son James had brought her to the brink of the grave. It was a heart-rending meeting to him; the effect upon her, however, was otherwise, and scarcely had he been five minutes with her than she seemed his own beautiful mother again; for the glorious mind was not dimmed—her noble heart was not chilled—and the countenance again beamed with the light as of youth. His visit seemed to infuse new life into her; and the few days they spent together were days of unclouded happiness—days which left an influence upon his being that time could never efface. Scarcely had he left her, however, when the flame of life, which had for a moment brightened into such clear splendour, again sunk to revive no more, and in six weeks she died. His sister, who had been sent for by his mother, had died also of the yellow fever, twelve months before her own death.

After leaving Mr. Allen, and probably induced to the step by the great success which had attended his writings whilst with that gentleman, he purchased, and mainly through the pecuniary assistance of his friend, Mr. Allen, a newspaper, the name of which he immediately altered to that of the *Free Press*, altering at the same time its politics to those held so conscientiously by himself. This was a great undertaking for so young a man; and if industry and ability could have ensured its success, it must have succeeded. The whole of the editing, and the greater part of the manual labour, were performed by himself alone; he worked through the whole of most nights, and his editorial articles were set up in type without ever being committed to paper. This, great as was the labour, was of infinite service to him, by compelling him to a rapid and clear style of thought. The character of the paper soon attracted the attention of the editorial fraternity; but they, unfortunately, could not alone support the paper. Various adverse circumstances warred against it; agents were dishonest, and the young editor could command no capital to meet losses; in six months, therefore, this first effort of his laudable ambition was given up, and he found himself burdened by what was to him a large amount of debt.

Life had now assumed a gloomier and more earnest character; and the first page of this new chapter opened with a sorrowful leave-taking of his dear kind friends of Newburyport, and the setting out to Boston to seek employment as a journeyman, whose earnings, alas! could no longer be considered his own. To Boston he came, with high and honourable aspirations, but still with a depression of heart which was not lightly to be overcome. It was humiliating to the pride of one who had been a successful editor to solicit work as a journeyman; and then the debt, and the journeyman's small wages, were for ever associated in his mind. He was no longer the free and happy youth that he had been!

In Boston he knew but one person, a printer, who kept a boarding-house; but he fortunately was a kind-hearted man, who cordially received him under his roof, and assiduously sought for employment for him. Several weeks, however, elapsed before any employment was found, and then he was engaged as a journeyman by David Lee Child, the husband of Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, who at that time conducted a tri-weekly paper. Here he laboured with unremitting assiduity, again working both by night and day, and had at length the happiness of disburdening himself of some of his debts. In the course of 1827 he was engaged on the *National Philanthropist*, a paper devoted to the subject of *total abstinence*, and the first paper in the world which was the advocate of this cause; and here it was that he became himself, from principle, a tee-totaller. After working upon this paper for some time as a journeyman, it passed into another proprietorship, and he became its editor. Whilst occupying this situation, Providence was gradually leading him through a chain of circumstances to the commencement of that great labour of love in which he should stand forth like his great Master, to preach liberty to the captive—to bind up the broken-hearted, and let the oppressed go free.

A little Quaker, hardly beyond a dwarf in stature, labouring likewise under the infirmity of deafness, Benjamin Lundy by name, was the first man in the United States who devoted his life to the abolition of Slavery. Small as was his outward frame, he possessed a soul of large capacity; he was gifted with great power of endurance, unquenchable zeal, wonderful perseverance, and the utmost disinterestedness of purpose. This man was the editor of a paper called the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published in Baltimore, and devoted wholly to the abolition of Slavery. Garrison read this paper. Hitherto he had not turned his mind to this subject, but at once the enormity and folly of this great national sin of Slavery, and the outrage practised through it upon humanity, burst upon his soul, and a new purpose and aim was given to his existence. A burden of human woe was laid upon him, and he vowed henceforth to consecrate his life, as far as practicable, to the deliverance of his enslaved countrymen. Whilst this new path of duty was opening before him, in 1828, a deputation was sent to him from Bennington, in the State of Vermont, where the fame of his singular devotion and great talent had gone, to request him to go to that town and establish a paper there, mainly with a view to the re-election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency of the United States. He went there, and started a paper called the *Spirit of the Times*, which, whilst it warmly espoused the cause of Mr. Adams, was mainly devoted to the promotion of peace, temperance, and moral reform, including the abolition of Slavery. Shortly after his coming to Bennington, also, he ventured to call a public meeting for the purpose of sending petitions to Congress for the abolition of Slavery; and in the course of a few weeks had the happiness of sending the most numerously signed petition that had ever been presented to Congress from any State on that subject. This activity in his favourite cause, together with the extraordinary talent exhibited by this young co-worker, attracted the attention of Benjamin Lundy, who immediately made a journey from Baltimore to the Green Mountains to visit him. Personal knowledge only increased his admiration and respect, and he most earnestly requested that he would join hand and heart with him in this great cause, and become joint-editor with him in the management of his paper. In compliance with the good man's earnest wish, and in order, likewise, to find a vent for that tide of Slavery opposition which was vehemently struggling within him, Garrison consented, and in the autumn of 1829 removed to Baltimore; and from that day devoted himself to the cause for which God had so evidently appointed him.

Accordant as Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison were on the main question of the impolicy and sinfulness of Slavery, an immense difference soon discovered itself in their views respecting its abolition. Lundy, perhaps influenced by the somewhat timid and *juste milieu* practice of the religious society to which he belonged, and which practice is utterly at variance with the bold uncompromising spirit of its commencement, had been misled by the *ignis fatuus* of "gradual emancipation," which, as has been wittily observed, means "half way between now and never!" Garrison, on the contrary, was convinced, both by reason and reflection, that immediate and unconditional emancipation was the only remedy and atonement for the enormity of Slavery. Here was a marked difference between the men. Lundy, however, who could not himself embrace these broad principles of right, with a liberality which was worthy of him, permitted his new associate to advocate in their paper those doctrine which he held; and the first number of their journal hoisted the banner of what was called "Immediatism," in contradistinction to the old and hitherto considered liberal opinion of "Gradualism."* A strong sensation was immediately produced, not only in the Southern but in the Northern States. This was a view of the question which moderate men could not entertain; and Garrison and his paper were considered as fanatical and dangerous. Lundy's character and his former moderation were of no avail; the supporters of the paper fell off on all hands; and the slaveholders, especially those of Maryland, determined to crush the publication under the form of law. The opportunity to do this occurred in the spring of 1830. It happened that a merchant of Newburyport, named Francis Todd, a fellow-townsman of Garrison's in his early years, sent one of his ships to Baltimore laden with slaves for the Southern market. The fact of this man, whom he had known from childhood, having engaged in this horrible and unchristian traffic, excited in Garrison's breast the utmost indignation. Moreover, as a New England man, he resolved to show to the Southern slaveholders that he was no respector of persons, and that he was as ready to denounce Northern as Southern participation in the guilt of the slave system. He reprobated in his paper, therefore, the conduct of Mr. Todd, in such terms as he thought his crime merited. He declared that there was no difference in principle between the foreign and domestic traffic in "slaves and the souls of men;" and, therefore, if any man deserved imprisonment for life, for a criminal act, it was Mr. Todd. Mr. Todd, of course, was exasperated; and, stimulated by the slaveholders of Baltimore, brought an action against Garrison for libel. On the trial, Garrison proved, by the custom-house books, that the number of slaves actually conveyed by the vessel exceeded that stated in the paper. But the greater the truth the greater the libel. Besides this, the Judge before whom he was tried, one Nicholas Brice, was a man notorious for his pro-slavery principles, and extremely anxious to annihilate Mr. Garrison's dangerous paper. The jury, too, was a packed one, and nothing could be expected but that he should be convicted of libel,—of seriously damaging the character of a man by charging him with carrying on a traffic which is authorized and protected by law!

A fine was imposed which Garrison was unable to pay. He was taken to prison, and confined in a cell which had just been vacated by a murderer, who had paid the extreme penalty of the law. After he had been upwards of a month in prison, he was liberated through the intervention of a perfect stranger to himself, but one who had become acquainted with his noble character through the paper on which he and Lundy were engaged. Arthur Tappan, a well-known merchant and philanthropist, of New-York, forwarded one hundred dollars, the amount of fine; and the champion of emancipation was again abroad.

During his imprisonment, however, his time was well employed: he wrote an account of his mock trial, which was published, and circulated far and wide throughout the States; and like seeds of fire scattered abroad, it kindled everywhere, even in the Southern States, a spirit of indignation, and called forth the sympathy of every generous heart towards the sufferer. He employed many hours also in marking the very walls of his prison-cell the eloquent preachers of liberty. On these white-washed tablets he wrote denunciations of Slavery and its abettors; he proclaimed his own innocence, and called upon all to combat, nay, even to suffer in the great cause of God and man. Of these remarkable inscriptions we will present our readers with two sonnets,—the first intended to comfort and strengthen any future unfortunate occupant of that cell, who might, like himself, be doomed to inhabit it, though guilty of no other crime than that of endeavouring to dethrone tyranny and promote peace and goodwill among men: the other, according to our judgment, is one of the noblest effusions that ever left the pen of the poet.

I.

Prisoner! within these massive walls close pent,
Guiltless of horrid crime or trivial wrong,
Bear nobly up against thy punishment,
And in thy innocence be great and strong!
Perchance thy fault was—love to all mankind;
Thou didst oppose some vile, oppressive law,
Or strive all human fetters to unbind,
Or wouldst not bear the implements of war.
What then? Dost thou so soon repent the deed?
A martyr's crown is richer than a king's!
Think it an honour with thy Lord to bleed,
And glory 'midst the intensest sufferings!
Though beaten—imprisoned—put to open shame—
Time shall embalm and magnify thy name.

II.

THE FREEDOM OF THE MIND.

High walls and huge the body may confine,
And iron gates obstruct the prisoner's gaze;
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns the immortal mind this base control!
No chains can bind it and no cell inclose:
Swifter than light it flies from pole to pole,
And in a flash from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hour:—
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And in its watches wearies every star!

This remarkable little poem, to the last two lines of which we would particularly call our readers' attention, was the instantaneous outbreak of feeling on his being immured in his cell. The jailor shot the bolts and turned the key, and the prisoner, thrilling with the energy and inspiration of truth and genius, inscribed this manly defiance of judicial tyranny on the walls which enclosed him.

On coming out of prison, the Apostle of freedom found new difficulties in his path; many hearts had grown timid, and no church or hall could be obtained in Baltimore for the delivery of a course of lectures against Slavery. The paper, also, in which he was associated with Lundy could no longer be supported weekly. He retired, therefore, from it, and its original proprietor again resumed its management as a monthly publication.

For some time the American Colonization Society had been exciting great attention in the United States, and Mr. Garrison, before coming to Baltimore, was disposed to look upon it favourably. He more, was disposed to look upon it favourably. He believed that its objects were glorious, as representing the abolition of the foreign slave-trade, and the evangelization of Africa. On mingling, however, with the most worthy and intelligent free coloured people of Baltimore, he discovered that the society in truth vindicated the right of property in human flesh; was in favour of gradual abolition only on condition that the slave should be transported to Africa, from which his ancestors, not himself, were brought; that it held the ferocious prejudice against a sable complexion to be natural, and, as it asserted, one not in the power of religion to eradicate, *because it was the "ordination of Providence."* The society, in fact, was only a cunning device of the slaveholders to banish the free coloured people, that the slaves might be held in more perfect bondage.

At this time the society was universally popular. The most eminent statesmen and persons of all political parties gave it their support, and fifteen of the States had officially sanctioned it; besides which, every religious denomination was enlisted in its cause. When the true nature of this society first revealed itself to Garrison, he could scarcely believe his senses. He stood alarmed and astounded at view of the tremendous conflict which was opening before him against disguised cruelty, hypocrisy, and fraud: What was he, argued the weaker spirit within him, that he should arraign such an august association before the bar of public justice? What was he—a young man without station, without influential connections, without wealth, and without any supporters? What could such an one, just liberated, too, from prison, do against the million? So reasoned the human nature of the man; but the strong spirit said—"Raise up thy voice for outraged humanity—unveil the insinuating mischief, and leave all to God!"

Accordingly he went to the North, and for some time found it impossible to obtain a public hearing. In Boston, not a chapel or public hall would open its doors to him. Finding all his attempts to disseminate his doctrines in this way fruitless, he resolved upon presenting himself as the apostle of freedom on the Common—a sort of public park—and under the free canopy of heaven to make the unfettered winds, as it were, his heralds to carry abroad the thunder-tones of his great argument. To our thinking, no fitter temple for the enunciation of his doctrines could have been found; but, however, a circumstance, which contains in itself a reproof and a reproach to professors of that doctrine which proclaims all men to be brothers, at length gave him the shelter and sanction of a roof. The disciples of Thomas Paine, infidels by profession, offered him the free use of their hall, for his advocacy of the rights of man. In an infidel hall, therefore, he first proclaimed "liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound." "I am a believer in Christianity," said he, at the close of his course of lectures, "and Boston is professedly a Christian city; hence, I blush, while I am constrained to acknowledge the superior humanity of what is called infidelity, to the Christianity of the day." This circumstance needs no comment; by their fruits, ye shall know them.

Great as was the force of conviction produced in many minds by these lectures, men of wealth and influence declined to aid Mr. Garrison—for his opinions were too extreme, his reform too radical, and, as yet, the Colonization Society, against which he waged war, was an idol which the so-called liberal and philanthropic worshipped. Nor was there yet any public organ by which he could disseminate his principles. These principles had already ruined several newspapers, and none would now lend their columns to the subject; much less would any capitalist embark his solid dollars in so perilous an enterprise. Garrison, at this moment standing alone, and without the means of commanding a single penny, counted the cost of this great warfare for humanity. He had nothing to lose but his life, and that he was willing to sacrifice, if God so willed. His spirit was as indomitable as his heart was noble, and he resolved, at all hazards, to go on. Still without money, how commence, much less carry on, a paper? His friends shook their heads at his "fanatical schemes." How was the first number of his paper to be brought out, much more sustained?

Thanks, however, to good old Ezekiel Bartlett, he was a printer, and knew how to set types, and work at the press. He had, besides this, a stout, sturdy-souled friend, one Isaac Knapp, whom he had known from childhood, and who, like himself, was a printer. With this man he took counsel, and, when two determined, great-minded men take counsel together, it would be strange if something did not result from it. They were both poor, could not command a sixpence of capital between them, but then they could *work!*—out of that *work* great things might be accomplished. There was, also, a third man, a mutual friend of theirs, a foreman in a printing establishment, who might help them, and to him they went. They engaged themselves to him as journeymen, on condition that their labour should cover the expenses of this important paper, which, even before it saw the day, was entitled the *Liberator*.

On the first of January, 1831, the first number of this journal was published. It was an era in the history of emancipation; and though, in the first instance, free coloured people were almost its sole supporters, it was not many weeks before its bold and noble proprietors were in a condition to purchase a little second-hand type, and an old press, which they set up in a small, obscure upper room, in the old Merchants' Hall. Many a gigantic result has had its obscure beginning in such small, upper rooms. There was a time when the Anti-Corn-law League had no better place of meeting for its half-dozen members—nay, even the very apostles preached and promulgated Christianity itself in "small upper chambers."

For several years the *Liberator* was issued from this humble room, which also, for a considerable portion of that time, served its undaunted, indefatigable proprietors as printing office, counting-house, eating-room, bed-room, &c. There is a moral sublimity in the history of this paper, and a grandeur beyond that of kings in the noble temperance, self-denial, and unconquerable fortitude of the men who conducted it. Sneered at, scoffed at, threatened, persecuted, they still held on; high-hearted champions in the cause of humanity and freedom. Thank God, for such instances as these of the true heroic!

During the time of which we are now writing, Garrison and Knapp lived in the most frugal manner; their diet was principally bread and water; their luxury a little milk. The manual labour of the paper was performed by themselves alone; and, in addition to his share of this, Garrison had also to discharge the duties of editor, which were laborious enough. But, as we said before, the men were heroes, and to the true heroic mood there is neither difficulty nor impediment which cannot be overcome. When they were wearied, and worn down with excessive toil, they remembered the lash-driven slave, and with a cheerful spirit they went along their arduous and rugged path.

Though the *Liberator* made its way but slowly among the white population, it created the utmost exasperation among the slaveholders. A desperate outbreak of the slaves in Virginia was attributed to Garrison and his influence; and scarcely a day passed without his receiving letters, containing challenges to fight him, or the most brutal and fiend-like threats of abduction, or assassination. Undaunted either by threat or intimidation, he published some of these brutal and vulgar letters in the columns of his paper, that the world might see of what spirit their writers were. The fear and hatred of him increased more and more in the Southern States, and at length threats and insults ceased to be private affairs, for the State of Georgia offered, through its Legislature, a reward of five thousand dollars for his life. His escape was truly miraculous.

On New Year's Day, 1832, just twelve months after the commencement of the *Liberator*, another grain of mustard-seed in the good cause of emancipation was sown, by the formation of the first Anti-Slavery Society* in America. This, likewise, was organized by Garrison, and consisted of twelve members—a small, but an apostolic number—among whom were David Lee Child, the husband of Lydia Maria Child, and other men of great influence and high standing. He had also in this year the satisfaction of successfully unmasking the true nature and designs of the so often mentioned Colonization Society, which he was enabled to do from the official documents of their own body. This was at once a great step gained in his own cause. Still, this triumph only regarded America. In England, the Colonization Society was looked upon as the salvation of the slave; it was lauded to the skies, as a new and glorious scheme of Christian philanthropy which was to astonish the world. One Elliot Cresson, a member of the Society of Friends, but an arrant despiser of the coloured man, was then travelling in this country, holding public meetings, and winning a deal of money and enthusiasm from the breasts and pockets of the people. By his artful statements, and Quaker garb, and mode of speech, he lulled suspicion asleep. Wilberforce, Clarkson, Fowell Buxton, and nearly all the leading Abolitionists of England, at that time were misled by him. William Howitt, however, soon saw through the impostor, and openly denounced him.

Closely occupied as Garrison of necessity was, by his paper at home, and ruinous, almost, as it was for him to leave his post, he still thought it so important that this nefarious scheme and its agent should no longer delude the British public, that, at all risks, he resolved to come over to England for this purpose. In May, 1833, accordingly he came, a stranger, and unauthorized by any influential body, and having here, as in America, to commence a warfare against a countryman, and against a cause which had seized upon the public mind as favourably as it had done at home. Fortunately, however, the false is seldom as bold as the true; and Cresson, who knew perfectly well the real nature of his, and the society's designs, made but a feeble opposition to this unlooked-for and formidable enemy on new ground; and in three months his career in England was brought to a sudden and inglorious end. He left this country for America, a convicted impostor, and covered with shame and disgrace. Garrison's visit to England, on the contrary, was crowned with success; his simple, earnest manner and demeanour, in which truth and moral greatness were so forcibly impressed, instantly recommended him and the cause to every kindred mind; and shortly before he left this country, he had the satisfaction of receiving a most emphatic protest against the lately triumphant Colonization Society, signed by Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, Macaulay, Cropper, of Liverpool, George Stephen, William Smith, Lord Suffield, Daniel O'Connell, and others. He had many most interesting and friendly interviews with Wilberforce, shortly before his death, which took place while he remained in England. He lived only a few weeks after he had signed the protest; and Mr. Garrison has been heard to say, that he considers it as one of the melancholy privileges of his life to have attended that good man's funeral in Westminster Abbey. Poor Clarkson, at that time blind, and in a feeble state of health, could not credit the deception which had been practised upon him, and refused to sign the protest. Afterwards, however, having recovered his sight, and being able to read, and judge for himself, he addressed a long letter to Garrison, which was published in 1840, indignantly reprobating the deceptive course pursued by the Colonization Society, through their agent in this country.

During his visit to England, Garrison became acquainted with George Thompson, and impressed by his zeal, moral intrepidity, and wonderful eloquence, besought him to visit the United States, and to become a coadjutor with him, and the little handful of persecuted Abolitionists there—"to come over and help them," as the Apostles would have said.

The report of Garrison's labours in England had crossed the Atlantic before him, and on his arrival in New-York he found placards posted through the city, stating that "the Infamous Garrison" had arrived, and was to be present on a certain evening at a public meeting, "and the friends of order, therefore, in the city"—*alias*, the friends of Slavery—"were invited to assemble and hurry him to the tar-kettle." The whole city was in a state of excitement; the hotels were filled with ruffians from the Southern States, who uttered publicly the most terrific threats against him. No soul interfered in his behalf; on the contrary, the daily papers were filled with inflammatory articles, calculated only the more to inflame the public mind. There is something perfectly sublime in the spectacle of one man, who has no other rule of conduct, under any circumstances, but peace and love, standing alone, as it were, in an infuriated city, putting his life in his hand, trusting all to God, and fearing no man.

*On the principle of Immediate Emancipation.—[Ed. Standard.

(To be Continued.)

GLEANINGS FROM FOREIGN PAPERS.

BATHS & WASH HOUSES FOR THE LABOURING CLASSES.—It appears from a return made that from the 3d inst. (the opening day of the establishment situate in George street, Hampstead) up to the 22d, upwards of 9,613 persons have availed themselves of the facilities afforded; and, owing to the insufficient accommodation, between two and three hundred persons have been daily refused on application for baths.

A London curate, writing to the *Times*, suggests that to avoid the pestilence likely to arise in families only occupying one room, there should be a house built to receive the dead, from the time of their death till their interment. He says he has known cases of wretched families *making a table of the coffin.*

THE COAL FIELDS OF LANCASHIRE.—It has been calculated that the available coal-beds of Lancashire amount in weight to the enormous sum of 8,400,000,000 tons. The total annual consumption of this coal, it has been estimated, amounts to 3,400,120 tons. Hence it is inferred that the coal-fields of Lancashire, at the present rate of consumption, will last 2,470 years.—*Salt's Statistics.*

FOREIGN ICE.—A ship from Boston, United States, has brought the large quantity of 905 tons weight of ice. This is, by several tons, the most extensive importation of the article which has taken place from any foreign country.

Sensibility is like the stars that can lead only when the sky is clear. Reason is the magnetic needle which guides the ship when the stars are wrapt in darkness.—*Horder.*

GENTILE GENEROSITY.—One Jewish family may now reside in this place (Nurnberg) by a ticket of permission. Jews may also now stop here a night, without danger of losing their lives!

The bronze lamp, which is said to have first suggested to Galileo the theory of the pendulum, is still suspended in the nave of the cathedral at Pisa. It is one of fine workmanship.

Geology proves that the palm-tree formerly grew, and the crocodile and turtle lived, in England.

FLOGGING.—There are cases on record, in the office of the Judge Advocate, wherein delinquent soldiers have been sentenced to receive *three thousand lashes!*

LOCAL AGENTS FOR THE STANDARD.

CYRUS M. BURLEIGH, Plainfield, Ct
CHARLES ATKINSON, Marion, Grant co Ia
J. MILLER M'KIM, Philadelphia, Pa
AMARANCY PAINE, Providence, R I
PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, "
J. C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, Ontario co N Y
THOMAS MCCLINTOCK, Waterloo,
SLOCOMB HOWLAND, Sherwood's Corners, Cayuga co N
L. STONE, Oberlin, Ohio
ROBERT F. WALCUTT, Boston, Mass
JESSE HOLMES, New-Lisbon, Columbiana co Ohio
K. G. THOMAS, Marlborough, Stark co Ohio
ISAAC LEWIS, Short Creek, Harrison co, Ohio
E. D. HUDSON, Springfield, Mass
JAMES A. BURR, Ludlowville, N Y
ROBERT C. MARSHALL, Hiram, Portage county
VALENTINE NICHOLSON Harveysburg, Warren county,
WILLIAM CRONK, Buffalo, N Y
DANIEL W. COOK, Johnson's Creek, Niagara county, NY